# SELECT

AND

# CHOYCE

## *OBSERVATIONS,*

Containing all the *Romane*

## EMPEROURS.

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*The first eighteen*

By EDWARD LEIGH
M. A. of *Magdalene-Hall* in OXFORD,
The others added by his Son HENRY
LEIGH, M. A. also of the
same House.

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Certain Choyce *French* Proverbs,
Alphabetically disposed and Englished
added also by the same EDWARD
LEIGH.

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2. y. 8

TO THE RIGHT

# WORSHIPFUL

and his loving Father

# HENRY LEGH

*Esquire.*

Loving Father:

HOW much I am obliged unto you both for my being and well-being, I desire now to testifie unto the world; for though to requite your love and bounty, be not within the sphear of my Activity, yet since the Apostle * commandeth Children to learn to requite their Parents, and Nature it

* *Quicquid est, quod dat Patri Filius, utique minus est, quia hanc ipsam dandi facultatem Patri debet.* Seneca *lib.* 3. *de Benefic. Patribus & Diis non possumus retribuere æqualia.* *Arist.* 8. *Ethic.* ἀμοιβὰς ἀποδοῦναι 1 Tim. 5.4

it ſelf hath taught the unreaſonable Creatures this leſſon, I ſhall endeavour, (God aſſiſting me with his grace) to pay that three-fold debt, of reverence, obedience, and gratitude, which all children owe to their Parents: As *Æſchines* therefore, when he ſaw his fellow-Schollers give great gifts to *Socrates* (being poor, and having nothing elſe to beſtow) did give himſelf to *Socrates*, profeſſing to be wholly devoted unto him: ſo I ſhall ever devote my ſelf unto your ſervice, to whom (next under God) I owe my ſelf, and thoſe abilities I have, both natural, and which through Gods bleſſing upon your liberal education, by a double apprentiſhip in two *famous and flouriſhing Societies I have acquired. To expreſſe therefore my due obſervance

* The Vow which bindeth children to requite their Parents is the Stork from στοργὴ, natural affection, and she is called πελαργὸς: hence cometh ἀντιπελαργεῖν when children ſtudy to requite their Parents.

*Magdalen-Hall in *Oxford*, and the Middle Temple in *London*.

ſervance, and grateſull recognition of your former care, and coſt, and withal to give you ſome account of the fruitful ſpending of my time, I here preſent unto you ſome *Choyce Obſervations* concerning the *twelve firſt Cæſars, Emperours of Rome*. A work (as *I* conceive) both delightful, and uſeful, and therefore to you (I hope) not unwelcome; as Geographers expreſs the whole world in a little Map, ſo have I laboured Graphically to deſcribe theſe great Monarchs of the world in a little model, neither ſtrictly tying my ſelf to any one Hiſtorian, nor relating all the paſſages of their lives, but excerping out of the moſt principal *Authors, ſuch things of them as were moſt memorable. Amongſt all which Writers (though I confeſſe *Tacitus* his ſtile

* *Tertul. Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Joſephus, Plutarch. Taciti Hiſt. & Annal. Aurel. Vict. Eutrophus, Pliny, Solinus, Seneca, Macrob. Saturn. Suetonius*, with *Caſaub. Animadverſ. Eraſ. Apotheg. & Chi Bad.*

ſtile is elegant, & full of wiſe ſẽtentious* *Apotheg.*) *I* have chiefly followed *Suet.* 1. becauſe my worthy * Tutor (whoſe memory I ſhall ever honour) made choice eſpecially (of that Hiſtory to read to his Pupils. 2 Becauſe his Phraſe is pure & polite, and himſelf a faithful Hiſtorian: Of whom it is recorded (as *I* think) by *Eraſmus*, that he wrote the lives of the Romane Emperours, *prorſus ea libertate, quæ ipſi vixerunt*, with the ſame freedom that they lived. *Alex. ab Alex. Genial. dier. lib.* 1. *c* 1. calleth him *ſinceriſsimum. Scriptorem*, and *Ludov.* * *Vives, incorruptiſsimum.* And *I* deſire to write as freely and unpartially of them, ſince I may ſay of them all, as *Tacitus* doth of ſome of

* *Eſt oratio Taciti mirum in modum arguta, & prudentiæ plena Bodin. l. 4. de Method. Hiſtor.*

* Mr. *William Pemble.*

* *Suetonius Tranquillus Græcorum & Latinorum Scriptorum diligentiſſimus, atque incorruptiſſimus, res duodecim Cæſarum videtur mihi integerrimè exponere qui in optimis Principibus nec vitia, nec ſuſpiciones vitiorum tacet: in peſſimis vero colores virtutum non diſſimulat. Ludov. Vives de tradend. Diſcipl. lib. 5 Tranquillè & æqualiter Fluit, rebuſq; unicè addictus, orationis ornamenta non negligens, ſed ſecurus præterit, & tamen hunc ipſum ornatum velut umbram non id agens trahit. Famian: Strada, lib. 2 Proluſ. Hiſtor.*

them

them, that they were *Mihi nec beneficio nec injuria cogniti*; only I shall herein fail, that I write not of these Emperours *Stylo Imperatorio*, with a high and lofty stile. *Iulius Cæsar* is here placed in the forefront, he being the first Emperour. For this title was at the first given unto him, that had fought valiantly for his Country and slain many enemies; *Iulius* * *Cæsar* (having brought the greatest part of the then known world into the subjectiō of the Romans) was the first that was saluted by the title of absolute Emperour, and all the Emperours succeeding were called *Imperatores* & *Cæsares* from him, *Mat.*22.21. *Dunbar* in his fifth *Century of Epigrammes* hath these verses of *Iulius Cæsars* and Pope *Gregories* reforming the Kalender.

* Nature meant *Cæsar* for a Conquerour, when she gave him both such courage, and such courtesie, both which put *Marius* into amaze. *They which durst speak to him,* (said he) *were ignorant of his greatnesse; and they which durst not, were so of his goodnesse.*

*Ce-*

*Cæsar Gregoriusque animum dum jura reformant,*
*Deformant regni res sine jure, sui:*
*Scilicet antiquis facies à Cæsare regni*
*Versa est, à Papa Pristina religio:*
*Malo reformari civilem à Cæsare flammam.*
*Malo reformatam Gregoriique fidem.*

The Emperours after *Iulius Cæsar* were called *Augusti* from *Octavius*, the second Romane Cæsar, who revived the good lawes, and reformed the bad. But the Emperours succeeding him, having more care to be great then good, rather raged then reigned, and the decrees of some of them, *viz.* *Tiberius* and *Caligula*, are witily termed *furores non judicia*. *Quatuor Principes ferro interempti* (saith *Tacitus* in his History) four of these Emperours were slain with the Sword, *Galba*, *Otho*, *Vitellius*, *Domitian*: which three first *Plutarch* compareth (in re-

regard of their short reign) to Kings in a Tragedy, which last no longer then the time that they are represented on the stage. *Julius Cæsar*, and *Caligula* were also slain, *Claudius*, and *Titus* were poisoned, *Nero* slew himself, * *Augustus* dyed in a complement, *Tiberius* in dissimulation, *Galba* with a sentence, *Vespasian* with a jest, yet he died peaceably in his Bed, which no Emperour since *Augustus* ever did. The * Heathens shadowed the sting of conscience by the Eagle or Vulture that feed upon the heart of *Prometheus*, and by the three Virgins which they called Furies, following men in a hideous form, with burning torches in their hands, which some of the worst of these Heathen Emperours really felt after

* *Augustus Cæsar* dyed in a Complement; *Livia, Conjugii nostri memor, vive, & vale.* *Tiberius* in dissimulation; as *Tacitus* saith of him, *Jam Tiberium vires & corpus, non Dissimulatio deserebant.* *Vespasian* in a Iest, sitting upon the stool, *Vt puto Deus fio.* *Galba* with a sentence, *Feri, si tu vis Populi Romani*; holding forth his Neck. *Bacons* last Essayes in 4.

* *Macrob. lib. 1. in somn. Scipion.*

their

their bloody cruelties, and verified that old * Maxime, he muſt needs fear many, whom many fear. * *Caligula* (though he contemned the gods, as they called them) yet at the leaſt thundering and lightening would run under his bed, and cover his head. * *Nero* that monſter of Mankind having killed his Mother *Agrippina*, could never after endure the worm and ſting of conſcience for his foul fact, but confeſſed that he was often haunted with the apparition of his mothers Ghoſt, and tormented alſo with ſcourges, and burning torches of the Furies. We may take notice of many Morall vertues alſo in the beſt of theſe Heathens, *Julius Cæſar*, *Augu-*

* *Timeo inauſtoditos aditus, timeo & ipſos cuſtodes.*

* See in the Book of him, and *Domitian.*

* *Dion* in *Nerone.*

* Our Engliſh Chronicles report of King *Richard* the third, that having imbrued his hands in the Blood of two Orient Princes, he never after had quiet in his mind, his body was privily fenced, his hand ever upon his Dagger, his countenance grimme and gaſtly, his ſleep unquiet, for he rather ſlumbred than ſlept. The night before the Battel fought in Boſworth-Field, he dreamed a terrible dream. *Credo non erat ſomnium, ſed Conſcientiæ ſcelerum. Polyd. Virgil.*

*ſtus*

*ſtus*, *Veſpaſian*, and *Titus* that mirrour of humanity, and ſee in them the truth of that old Maxime, *Magiſtratus virum indicat*, a place sheweth the man, and it sheweth ſome to be better, ſome to be worſe. It was ſaid of *Caligula*, that there was never better ſervant and worſe Maſter: *Omnium conſenſu capax Imperii, niſi imperaſſet*, ſaith *Tacitus* of *Galba*: but of *Veſpaſian* he ſaith, *Solus Imperatorum Veſpaſianus mutatus in melius*. But leaſt I should be upbraided with the City of *Myndus*, for making my Porch too bigge, here will I caſt Anchor, ever remaining.

*Your dutiful Sonne*
*to command*

EDWARD LEIGH.

# *Iulius Cæsar.*

THe *Iulii* were so called (saith *Alex. ab Alex.*) *à prima barbæ lanugine*, from the first wool or down of the beard. Others think the name of the *Iulii* came from *Iulus Ascanius*, the Son of *Æneas*.

*Gen. dier.* lib. 1. c. 9. Ἰούλος in *Gr.* (saith he) signifieth *Primam in mento lanuginem.*

*At puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo,*

*Virg. lib. 1. Æneid.*

He reformed the Kalender which was then confused, and framed the whole year just unto the course of the Sunne, that it should contain 365 dayes, and appointed that every fourth year a whole day should be inserted. Therefore we call our year *Annum Iulianum*, and the Kalender which we use *Calendarium Iulianum*, and that Moneth which was by them called *Quintilis*, becaus it was the fifth Moneth, is now called *Iuly* in honour of him.

*Annum ad cursum Solis accommodavit.* Sueton.

He was born in that Moneth. *Macrob. Saturn.* cap. 12.

For his other name *Cæsar*, there are different opinions of the originall of it. Some derive it *à cæsiis oculis*, from his grey eyes. But *Suetonius* * refutes that, and saith, he had black eyes. Others say he was so called *à Cæsarie*, from a bush of hair with which he was born. Some say he was cut

* *Sueton.* describes him to have been, *Nigris vegetisque oculis micantibus*, of a black quick sparkling eye. † *Primus Cæsar, à cæso Matris utero dictus,*

* cut out of his Mothers womb: although *Festus Pompeius* thinks, such are rather to be called *Cæsones*, and *Casaubon* * rejecteth that Etymologie. Others derive it *à Cæso Elephanto*, from his Grand-fathers killing an Elephant, which in the Carthaginian tongue is called *Cæsar*. *Sigonius* speaks much of it, but so that it should seem to be *ambiguæ fidei*, and therefore I shall leave it undetermined.

* *Animadvers. in Sueton. Alex. ab Alex. Gen. dier. l. 1. c. 9. Beckman de Orig. Ling. Latin. vide Christiani Matth. Theatr. Histor. Theor. Pract. in Jul. Cæs. cap. 1. Et Commentar. Schild. in Suetonium.*

He was tall of stature, white, and clear of complexion, somewhat full faced, his limbs were well trussed, and in good plight, his eyes black, lively, and quick. He was also very healthfull, saving that in his latter dayes he was given to faint, and swoon suddenly. *Comitiali quoque morbo bis inter res agendas correptus est*, saith *Suetonius*, twice in the midst of his Martial affaires, he was surprized with the falling sickness, which he stileth *Morbum comitialem*, either because it chiefly invadeth, and seizeth on men in *Comitiis*, in popular Assemblies, or because their *Comitia*, their Parliaments or Assemblies were dissolved, and broke up by occasion thereof, if any chanced to fall sick of that disease, they reputing such an accident to be a sinister presage.

*Forma omnium civium excellentissimus, vigore animi acerrimus, munificentiæ effusissimus. Paterculus.*

*Seu inter res gerendas. i. e. cum aciem ordinaret. Plutarch.*

Whiles he was setting his Army in battel aray.

*Fuchs. Instit. Medic. l. 3. Sect. 1. c. 11. Plato morbum divinum appellat, quia occupat in nobis divinæ particulam auræ. Alii morbum sacrum, vel quia detestandus est, vel quia divinitus immittitur. Dicitur etiam* Herculeus, *quia Hercules eo laboravit; item vulgo caducus.* Lipsius.

*Est*

*Est Morbi species subiti cui nomen ab illo est,*
*Quod fieri nobis suffragia justa recusant.*
*Sæpe etenim membris acri languore caducis,*
*Concilium Populi labes horrenda diremit.*

In Eloquence and warlike feats together, he either equalled, or excelled the glory of the very best.

*Eloquentiâ attigit summorum gloriam: re militari excesit.* Lipsius.

Cæsar *qui ne sçait moins bien faire, que bien dire.*

*Cæsar* who knows as well to write as fight. He held a Sword in one hand, and a Book in the other, with this Motto, *Ex utroque Cæsar*, Emperour by both.

*Imperatoriam Majestatem non solùm armis decoratam, sed etiam legibus oportet esse armatam, ut utrumque tempus, & bellorum, & pacis rectè possit gubernari. Justinian. Proem. Institut.*

He was counted the second man for Eloquence in his time, and gave place to the first, because he would be the first and chiefest man of war, and Authority. *Iulius Cæsar Scaliger* writeth thus of him: *Duæ sunt aquilæ solæ in natura rerum, altera bellicæ laudis, altera literariæ; illa potentiæ, hæc sapientiæ; Cæsar & Aristotles. Exercit. 94. Sect. 2.*

*Summis Oratoribus æmulus.* Tacit. He was *Cicero's* rival in Eloquence.

*Paterculus* reckoning up the famous wits of those times saith, *Et proximum Ciceroni Cæsarem.* Nay *Cicero* himself in his Catalogue of Orators to *Brutus*, * saith, He cannot see any to whom *Cæsar* might give place, and he highly commends him in his Oration *pro Marcello. Est ejus viri pura oratio, sine fuco ac calamistris ornata, vel Romanis vel Atticis Musis dignissima. Lipsius. Aulus Gellius*

* *Illum omnium fere Oratorum, latinè loqui elegantissimè,* saith *Atticus* there of him. *Cæsar quotidiano*



*sermoni egregiè utilissimus, cui Cicero laudem tribuit puri & incorrupti Sermonis Latini, Lodov. Viv. lib. 3. de tradend. Discipl.*

*lius scribit Cæsarem sermonis fuisse præter alios suæ ætatis castissimi.*

He left Commentaries of his own Acts, touching the Gaule warre, and the Civill warre, which (Sr. *Francis Bacon* * saith) is the best History of the world. King *James* exhorting his Son to the study of History, above all prophane Writers commendeth this Book of *Cæsars* to his reading, both for the sweet flowing of the stile, and the worthinesse of the matter in it self.

He was a famous Mathematician, and diligent in that study, as *Lucan* writes of him.

——— *Media inter prœlia semper*
*Stellarum, cœlique plagis superisque vacavi.*

He could at one time read, and write, heare, and indite, and if he did nothing else, he could dictate to 7. Actuaries or Penmen at once.

We ought to admire two things in him, which he had to perfection, and which render a Commander excellent; *viz.* that he forecast and provided for all things which might either further or hinder his designe before he undertook it; and that in the very execution he failed not to take his advantage when occasion presented it, or to remedy upon the instant such unexpected accidents as befell; wherein he hath been inimitable. The Duke of *Rohan's observ.* upon *Cæs. Com. L. 6.*

In his Enterprises he was both valiant and fortunate, and therefore singled out for

* Advance of Learn. *Bacon. lib. 2. Commentarios quosdam scripsit rerum suarum valde quidem probandos, nudi enim sunt, recti, & venusti, famos quidem homines à scribendo deterruit. Cicero de Clar. Orat. Scribere & legere simul, dictare, & audire accepimus: Epistolas verò tantarum rerum quaternas pariter librarius dictare, aut, si nihil aliud ageret, septenas. Plin. Natural. Hist. lib. 7. c. 25.*

for an Idea, or pattern of an absolute Generall, especially for four Military properties very resplendent in him. First, laboriousnesse in his Affaires. Secondly, courage in his dangers. Thirdly, industrious contriving of what he undertook. Fourthly, quick dispatch in accomplishing what he had once begun. Speed Chron.

*Nam Cæsar in omnia præceps,*
*Nil actum credens, si quid supereſſet agendum.* Lucan.

*Quintus Curtius* speaking of Alexander the Great saith, *Nullam virtutem Regis istius magis quam celeritatem laudaverim.* I can commend no vertue more in this King then speed.

*As you see me do, so do ye. Iudg. 7. 17. One saith the like of *Trajane*, that in all hazards and perills, he never said unto his Captains Go, but let us go: Do, but let us do.

In eleven dayes he marched with his army six hundred miles.

*Suetonius* affirmeth, that *Cæsar* did ever march formost before his troopes, and most commonly bare-headed, and on foot, whether the Sun shined, or it rained. *Tully* reports of him, that he was never heard to say to his Souldiers, *Ite illuc*, go forth thither, as if they should go forth upon service, and he tarry behind in his tent, but * *Venite huc*, Come ye hither.

——— *Ignave, venire*
*Te Cæsar, non ire jubet.* Lucan. *l.5.v.487.*

*Pertinax* was wont to say to his Souldiers, *Militemus*; and Severus Septimius, *laboremus*: *Livie* bringeth in *Valerius Corvinus* thus speaking; *Facta mea, non dicta vos milites sequi volo* *Solinus.* The two principall men of the world *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, have



slain each of them (as *Pliny* reporteth) more then a million of men.

*volo, nec diſciplinam modò, ſed exemplum etiam à me petere.*

Under his conduct were ſlain eleven hundred fourſcore and two thouſand enemies. He fought in pitched Field two and fifty times, ſaith *Solinus*, fifty ſaith *Pliny*, and never was ſo much as in any hazard ſave only twice.

*Signis collatis quinquagies dimicavit. Plin. Natural. Hiſt. lib. 7. c. 25.*

He Conquered all *France*, *Germany*, diſcovered us *Britaines*, and made us Tributary; and triumphed five times in *Rome* with unſpeakable admiration.

He took 1000 Townes, conquered 300. Nations.

It is obſervable, that in all his warres he hath alwaies been inferiour to his enemies in number; for which cauſe he hath alwaies helped himſelf by Fortifications, more then ever any other hath done, which he made much the better, when he found himſelf not ſufficiently ſtrong to give battel, as he was a long time in *Africa*; inſomuch that *Scipio* himſelf wondred at his coldneſs, nevertheleſs he alwaies continued his Souldiers in exerciſe, and himſelf exerciſed new levied men, and entred them by ſmall skirmiſhes, wherein by his induſtry for the moſt part he had the beſt, and alwaies attempted ſomething upon his enemy. The Duke of *Rohan's Obſerv.* on *Cæſars Comm. L. 5.*

*Suetonius. Nec vana de ſe prædicatio eſt Cæſaris, ante victum hoſtem eſſe quàm viſum. L. Flor. L.*

*Tam celer in agendo & conſulta exequendo, ut perſæpe nuntios de ſe prævenerit.* He is renowned for his celerity in doing, and preventing the very report of his coming.

*Cæſar*

*Cæsar* hath made himself as much redoubted and admired by the great works which he caused his Souldiers to make, as by his great Battels. The Duke of *Rohan's* treatise of *Modern Warre. Cap.* 4.

Having overcome King *Pharnaces*, and being desirous to advertise one of his friends of his quick expedition in dispatching that war, he onely wrote three words unto *Anitius* at *Rome, veni, vidi, vici*; I came, I saw, I overcame.

*Charles* the fift Emperor of Germany said, *Veni, vidi, Deus vicit. Surius in bello Germanico.*

He never put enemy to flight but he discamped him, and drave him out of the field: By this meanes he gave them whom he had once discomsited no time to bethink themselves. *Suetonius.*

In any doubtfull and dangerous service, his manner was to send away the Horses, and his own with the first, to the end that when all meanes of flight were gone, they might of necessity be forced the rather to stand to it, and abide to the last. *Suetonius.* So *William* the Conqueror at his arrival into *England*, burnt the ships which transporported his Army.

He called not his Souldiers *Milites*, but *Commilitones*: not plain Souldiers, but by a more pleasing name, Fellow-Souldiers. He maintained them so trim and brave, that he stuck not to set them out in polished Armour, damasked with silver and gold, as well for goodly shew, as becaus they should *Lucan* seemeth to have alluded to this: *Bellorum ô socii, quò mille pericula mortis.* *Augustus* did much reprove this humor in his Uncle, saying, *Dum affectat curior fieri, auctoritatem Principis emolliverat. Aurel. Vict.*

* Suetonius. ſhould in * Battel keep the ſame more ſurely for fear of damage and loſſe.

He loved them ſo affectionately, that when he heard of *Tiberius* his overthrow, and the Legions with him: he ſuffered the haire of his head and beard to grow long, and would not cut the ſame before he had revenged their Death. By which means he both had his Souldiers moſt devoted unto him, and alſo made them truly valiant.

It is reported of *Alexander* that he infuſed ſuch courage into his Souldiers, *Vtillo præſente, nullius hoſtium arma vel inermes timuerint. Juſtin. l.12. c. ult.*

He was ſo entirely beloved of his Souldiers, that to do him ſervice (whereas otherwiſe they were but like other men in any other private quarrell) if *Cæſars* honour were touched they were invincible, and would ſo deſperately, and with ſuch fury venter themſelves, that no man was able to abide them.

*Cæſars* eye made his Souldiers prodigall of their blood. *Plutarches Lives.*

A private Souldier of his fought ſo valiantly in Britain, that by his meanes he ſaved the Captaines, which otherwiſe were in great danger to have been caſt away (being driven into a Bogge;) then marching with great pain through the mire and dirt, half ſwimming, and half a foot, in the end he got to the other ſide, but left his ſhield behind him: *Cæſar* wondering at his noble courage, ran to him with joy to embrace him: but the poor Souldier hanging down his head, the water ſtanding in his eyes, fell down at *Cæſars* feet, and beſought him to pardon him for leaving his target behind him.

Plutarch.

*Petronius* being taken by *Scipio*, he ſaid he would

would give him his life, but he answered him again, that *Cæsar's* Souldiers did not use to have their lives given them, but to give others their lives; and with these words he drew his sword and thrust himselfe through.

*Cæsar* at *Alexandria* being busie about the assault and winning of a Bridge, was driven by a suddain sally of the enemies to take a Boat, and many besides making hast to get into the same, he leapt into the sea, and by swimming almost a quarter of a mile recovered the next ship, bearing up his left hand all the while, for fear the writings which he held therein should take wet, and drawing his rich coat-armour after him by the teeth, because the enemy should not have it as a spoile. Plutarchs Lives. *Paludamentum mordicus trahens, ne spolio potiretur hostis. Sueton. Milites erant sagati, Imperatores paludati.*

Beholding advisedly the Image, or portraiture of *Alexander* the Great in the Temple of *Hercules* at *Cales*, at the sight thereof he fetched a deep sigh, as being ashamed that he had yet performed no memorable act at those years, wherein *Alexander* had conquered the whole world. Plutarch & Suetonius. *i.e. 33. Sæpe audivi Q. Maximum, P. Scipionem, præteres civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, cum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissime sibi animum ad virtutes accendi; scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in se habere; sed memoriâ rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit, Sallustius in Bello Jugurthino.*

He was very much disquieted and dismayed with a dream the very night before, (for he imagined in his sleep that he had carnal cõpany with his own Mother:) the Diviners

viners and Wizards incited him to the hopes of most glorious achievements, making this exposition of his dream, that thereby was portended unto him the soveraignty of the whole world; for his Mother whom he saw under him, betokened the subjection of the Earth, which is counted the mother of all things.

Suetonius. *Ita visum interpretari vaticinatæ artis auctoribus vanissimis. Casaubon. Animadvers.*

There were two Factions in *Rome* at that time, *Sylla* was the chief of the one, and *Marius* of the other; *Marius* stood for the people, and *Sylla* defended the Nobles. *Marius* and all his Confederates were proclaimed Traitors, and enemies to the Common-wealth. *Sylla* determining to kill *Cæsar*, some of his friends told him, that it was to no purpose to put so young a Boy as he was to death: but *Sylla* answered again, *Cæsari multos Marios inesse*, that there were many *Marii* in that one Boy, implying, that he would be a great enemy unto their state. When the day of Election for *summus Pontifex* came, he told his Mother kissing him, that that day she should see her Son chief Bishop of *Rome*, or banished from *Rome*.

Plutarch. Suetonius.

He said, he had rather be the chiefest man in a poor Village, then the second person in *Rome*.

Lucan. *Nec quenquam jam ferre potest Cæsarve priorem, Pompejusve parem.* ———

He did extremely affect the name of King, and some were set on as he passed by, in popular acclamation to salute him King; whereupon finding the cry weak and poor, he

he put it off thus in a kind of jest, as if they had mistaken his sirname, *Non Rex sum, sed Cæsar.*

He often used these verses of *Euripides*, which he himself thus translated.

*Nam si violandum est jus, Imperii causâ*
*Violandum est, aliis rebus pietatem colas.*

He alone managed all the affaires of state: his Collegue or Fellow-Consull did nothing, in so much as divers Citizens pleasantly conceited, whensoever they signed, subscribed, or dated any writings to stand upon records, would merrily put it down thus; Such a thing was done not when *Cæsar*, and *Bibulus*, but when *Iulius* and *Cæsar* were Consuls: setting down one and the same man twice by his name and sirname; yea, and soon after these verses were commonly currant.

*Non Bibulo quidquam nuper, sed Cæsare factum est:*
*Nam Bibulo fieri Consule, nil memini.*
Cæsar *of late did many things, but* Bibulus *not one:*
*For nought by Consul* Bibulus *can I remember done.*

He was such an excellent Rider of a Horse from his youth, that holding his hands behind him he would gallop his Horse upon the spur. The Horse he used to ride upon was strangely marked, with feet resembling very near a mans, and the hoofes cloven like toes: * The Beast would abide no man else to ride him, and he himself was the first that backed him.

When one brought him his Horse to get upon, which he used in Battel, he said unto him,

*Equitandi usus Cæsari à pueritia facilis adeò extitit, ut reflexis in tergum manibus, equum velocissimis consistere cursibus sæpe consueverit. Plut. Solinus. Sueton.*

* Like to *Alexanders* Bucephalus. *Plutarch.*

him, When I have overcome mine enemies I will get upon him to follow the chase, but now let us give them charge.

*Solinus.* He gloried in nothing so much (saith *Austin.* 5. Epist.) as in pardoning his enemies, and gratifying his friends.

*Benignitate adeò præditus, ut quos armis subegerat, clementiâ magis vicerit.*

He was of so good a nature, that such as he subdued by Battell, he more overcame with gentlenesse.

He held neuters for his friends contrary to *Pompey*, who held them for enemies. Aurel.

He said the greatest pleasure he took of his Victories was, that he daily saved the lives of some of his country-men that bare armes against him. *Cæsar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo, gloriam adeptus est. Salust. in bel. Catilin.*

*Idem dixit, non mihi placet vindicta, sed victoria.*

When *Pompey's* head was presented to him, *Vberrimas lachrymas profudit*, he wept bitterly, and caused him to be honourably buried, saying, *Ego Pompeii casum deploro, & meam fortunam metuo*, I lament *Pompey's* fall, and fear mine own fortune.

Dion. King *Cotis* having received for a Present many beautiful & rich Vessels, yet frail and easie to be broken, brake them all, that he might not be stirred to choler when they should happen to be broken.

When he found many Letters in *Pompey's* coffers, wherein divers testified their good will unto *Pompey*, and their hatred towards him, he neither read them nor copied them out, but presently burnt them, least being exasperated by them, he should have been forced to have committed some greater evil.

Plutarch in Tullies life. *Pompeii statuas erigendo sua confirmavit.*

When *Pompey's* Images had been thrown down he caused them to be set up again, and *Cicero* thereupon used this speech, that *Cæsar* in setting up *Pompey's* Images

mages again, made his own to ſtand ſurer.

He accounted his conqueſt of the two *Pompeys* (Sons to *Pompey* the great) in *Andaluzia* in *Spain* the moſt glorious of all his victories, for he would often ſay afterwards, that at others times he fought for Fame and Victory, but that day he fought for his life, which he had never fought for before.

When ſome of his friends did counſell him to have a Guard for the ſafety of his Perſon, and ſome alſo did offer themſelves to ſerve him, he would never conſent unto it, but ſaid, It was better to dye once, then alwaies to be afraid of death.

*Mori ſatius eſt ſemel, quam timore ſemper torqueri* Plutarch. Sueton.

He ſaid alſo, *Mori ſe quam timeri malle*, ſaith, *Paterculus*, when ſome adviſed him to keep by Armes what he had got by Armes.

When he was hindered by one of the Tribunes from taking ſome of the common Treaſure out of *Saturnes* Temple, and told that it was againſt the Law, Tuſh, ſaid he, Time of Warre and Law are two things.

*Silent leges inter Arma.*

That ſpeech of his was compounded both of terrour and clemency, to *Metellus* the Tribune; for *Cæſar* entring into the inner Treaſury of *Rome* to take the money there kept, *Metellus* forbad him; whereto *Cæſar* ſaid, That if he did not deſiſt he would lay him dead in the place; and preſently taking himſelf up, he added, young man, it is harder for me to ſpeake it then do do it.

*Adoleſcent difficilius eſt mihi hoc dicere, quam facere.* * *Magno illi Alexandro, ſed ſobrio, neque iracundo ſimillimus, qui ſemper & ſomno & cibo in vitam, non in voluptatem uteretur.* *Paterculus. Plutarch. Suetonius.*

* He was a ſpare drinker of Wine, as his very

very enemies confessed, whence arose that Apothegme of *Cato*, *That of all that ever were*, Cæsar *alone came sober to the overthrow of the state.*

He was the first that devised the way for friends to talke together by writing Cyphers in letters, when he had no leisure to speake with them for his urgent businesse, and for the great distance from *Rome.*

He said, *Cæsars* wife ought not only to be without fault, but also without all suspition of fault.

*Plutarch.* in *Apophtheg. Dixit invidere se Catoni mortem, quando sibi salutem invidisset.* Plutarch in the life of *Cato.*

Being certified that *Cato* had slain himself with his own hands, he seemed to be very sorry for it, and said, O *Cato*, I envie thy Death, because thou didst envie my glory to save thy life.

*Cicero* wrote a book in commendation of *Cato*, to justify that action, which *Cæsar* answered with another, which he called *Anti-Cato*, both which are lost. *Schildius* out of *Beroaldus* saith, *Cicero* wrote a book intituled *Cato*, in commendation of him, which vexed *Cæsar*, because he conceived the commendation of the other tended to his dispraise, and therefore he wrote two bookes against *Cato*, discovering his crimes, called *Anti-Catones.*

*Cæsarem vehis, & fortunam ejus.*

Being in a Pinnase or small Boat in a great storm, he said to the Master of it: *Fellow, be of good cheer, for thou hast Cæsar and his fortune with thee.*

[So *Charles* the fifth taking his Horse to rush into the main battel, was requested to forbear,

forbear, but he answered, *An Emperour was never shot through with a Bullet.*

So *William* the second of *England*, comming to imbark at Portsmouth, the Master told him the weather was rough, and there was no passing without imminent danger, *Tush*, said he, *set forward, I never yet heard of a King that was drowned. Dan. Hist.*]

Yet I may say of him as our Chronicler doth of one of our English Kings, *Inerant illi confuso quodam temperamento, virtutes magnæ & vitia non minora.* Cambd. in Annal. De Henric. 8.

*Suetonius* and others, speake of his unnaturall uncleanneſſe, and prodigious prodigality. He stole out of the Capitol 108000. pounds (reduced to our money) in gold at once, gave to *Servilia* a Jewell which cost him 46875. pounds, owed 195312 5. pounds more then he was worth by his own confession. His shewes, and publike Donations, in costlinesse are almost invaluable. Plin. lib. 7. c. 25.

About the trimming of his body he was over curious, so as he would not only be shaven very precisely, but also have his hair plucked. *Circa corporis curam morosior, ut non saltem tonderetur diligenter, ac raderetur, sed vellerctur etiam. Suetonius.*

The chiefest cause that made him mortally hated, was his excessive desire of honour, and his slighting the Senators.

When his friends complained unto him of *Antonius* and *Dolabella*, that they intended some mischief towards him, he answered them again, *As for these fat men, and smooth-combed-heads*, quoth he, *I never reckon of them, but those pale-visaged, and carrion lean people,* *Odi pallidos & macilentos.*

*people, I fear them most*, meaning *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

He never refused to fight but in his latter dayes, being then of this opinion, that the oftner he had gotten victory, the lesse he was to venture, and make trial of fortune: also that a victory could gain him nothing so much as some disastrous calamity might take from him.

There conspired against him more than threescore, the heads of which conspiracy were *Cassius* and *Brutus*. He had fair warning of his death before it came, by many evident prodigies; Fires were seen in the Element, and spirits running up and down in the night, and solitary Birds at noonday sitting in the great Market-place; as the Bird *Regaliolus* did flye with a little branch of Lawrell into the Court of *Pompeius*, a sort of other Birds of divers kinds from out of the Grove hard by pursued after, and there pulled it in pieces.

Or *Regaviolus*, *quasi Rex avium. Casaub. Animadvers.*

*Caesar* sacrificing to the gods, found that one of the Beasts which was sacrificed, had no heart, and that was a strange thing in Nature, how a Beast could live without a heart.

*Nec centum victimis peritare poterat. Florus, l. 4. Hist. Rom. c. 2.*

There was a certain *South-sayer* that had given *Caesar* warning long before, to take heed of the day of the *Ides* of *March* (which is the fifteenth of the Moneth,) for on that day he should be in a great danger. That day being come, *Caesar* going unto the Senate-house, and speaking merrily to the

*Eo ipso die dum ad senatum iret, libelli conjurationem & conjuratorum nomina indicantes, in manus ipsi traditi.*

*South-*

*South-sayer*, told him, The *Ides* of *March* were come: So they be, softly answered the *South-sayer*, but yet they are not past. *Plutarch. Suetonius.*

[*Christianus Matthias Theat. Histor. Theoret. Pract. in Iul. Cap.* 3. hath an elegant and memorable parallel history.

*Henry* the 4. King of *France* was disswaded from going abroad that day he was slain; by some, as a day mark't out by Astrologers to portend danger to his person: yet he, a second *Cæsar* as well in the course of his life as of his death, was little sway'd therewith, but like a King, and a Christian replied; that it was an offence to God to give credit to these Prognostiques, and that having God to his guard, he feared no man. *The Life and death of Henry the* 4.]

The night before this Discourse had with the *South-sayer*, all the windowes and doores of his chamber did flye open, and his Wife *Calphurnia* dreamed that *Cæsar* was slain, and that she had him in her arms.

He was stabbed with 23. wounds; he onely gave one groane at the first thrust, without uttering any words. Some say, That as M. *Brutus* came running upon him, he said, καὶ σὺ τέκνον; *And thou my Son?* *Sueton.* He was slain in *Pompeys* court. *Tribus & viginti vulneribus ad terram datus est; sic ille qui terarum orbem civili sanguine impleverat; tandem ipse sanguine suo curiam implevit.* Luc. Flo. l. 4. Hist. Rom. c. 2.

All men are of opinion, that such a death befell unto him as he desired; for when he had read in *Xenophon* how *Cyrus* being at the point of death, gave order for his Funerall, he seting light by so slow and lingering a kind of death, wished to dye quickly and of a suddain-

The very day before he was killed, in a certain diſcourſe moved at ſupper in *Marcus Lepidus* his houſe, upon that point, which was the beſt end of a mans life? He preferred that which was ſuddain and unlooked for.

In the 31. *Septenarie.* Plutarch. Sueton. *Deum honor principi non ante habetur quam agere inter homines deſierat.* Tacit.

He dyed in the 56. year of his age; *Et in Deorum numerum relatus eſt*, he was made a god after death (which could not defend himſelf from death, from cruell murther) and that, *Non *ore modò decernentium, ſed & perſuaſione vulgi*, Not only by their voyce which decreed ſuch honour unto him, but alſo by perſwaſion of the common people.

* Sueton. Of this Ceremony of the Apotheoſis or deifying their Emperours, ſee Dr. *Hackwels* Apology of Gods providence. l. 4. Sect. 2.

A Comet ſhined then for ſeven dayes together, ariſing about the eleventh hour of the day, and it was believed by thoſe blind Heathen to be *Cæſars* ſoul, who had been a Comet of combuſtion to the world.

Horace. lib. 1. Ode 12.

——— *Micat inter omnes*
*Iulium ſidus, velut inter ignes*
*Luna minores.*

Alſo upon his Image there is a Star ſet to the very crown of his head.

*Percuſſorum autem fere neque triennio quiſquam amplius ſupervixit, neque ſua morte defunctus eſt.* Sueton. *Bella res eſt* (*inquit* Seneca) *mori ſua morte.*

Of theſe Murtherers there was not one that either ſurvived him above three years, or dyed a naturall death.

All

All stood condemned, and by one mishap or other perished; some by shipwrack, others by battel, and some again shortned their own dayes with the very same dagger wherewith they had wounded *Cæsar*: *Cassius*, as *Plutarch* reporteth, and *Brutus* according to *Dion*.

A notable judgement of God upon the unnaturall murderers of their Soveraign.

# *Choyce Observations*

## OF

# OCTAVIUS AVGUSTVS.

*Vel ab augurio, vel ab augendo dictus.*

HE was styled by the name of *Augustus, i. e.* worshipfull or sacred, which they thought to be a name of reverence and Majesty, because all consecrated and hallowed places were called *Loca Augusta.* That Moneth which was by them called *Sextilis*, because it was their sixth Moneth, is called *Augustus* in honour of him, and things of greatest splendour are called *Augustissima. Iulius Cæsar* was his great Uncle, but his Father by Adoption. He was called *Octavius* from his Father, and *Augustus* from his victory.

A man most nobly descended; for riches, honour, friends, Empire, fortunate victories, almost adored; for bodily good things, of comely stature, *Forma eximia & per omnes ætatis gradus venustissima.* Of most amiable visage, and that also majesticall by his bright and shining eyes, *Quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris.* Wherein also (as he would have men believe) was seated a kind of Divine vigor: and he joyed much, if a man looking wishly upon him, held down his face, as it were

Suetonius. *Oculorum acies clarissimorum sydera rum modo vibrans. Corpore toto pulcher, sed oculis magis. Aurel. Vict.*

*Sueton.*

against

againſt the brightneſſe of the Sun; therefore a certain ſouldier turned away his eyes from beholding his face, and he demanding the reaſon why he did ſo, he anſwered; *Quia fulmen oculorum tuorum ferre non poſſum.* Aurel. Vict

His hair was ſomewhat yellow, and his body freckled with ſpots, which his flatterers would have the world believe were in form like ſtars.

He was indeed ſomewhat low, nevertheleſſe of a comely ſtature, five foot and nine inches, the juſt meaſure (ſaith one) of our late famous Queen *Elizabeth*, who as ſhe matched that Roman Emperour in happineſſe, and duration of Reigne, ſo did ſhe likewiſe in the ſtature of her body. Cities were called *Caſareæ* in honour of him, ſo in honour of our Virgin Queen was there a Country called *Virginia*. *Sueton.* His ſhooes were underlaid ſomewhat with the higheſt, that he might ſeem taller then he was. *Calciamentis altioſculis utebatur, ut procerior quam erat videretur. Sueton.*

*Auguſtus Imperii formator, ne Dominum quidem dici ſe vo'ebat.* *Auguſtus* the founder of the Roman Empire (for his Father *Cæſar* was but *Metator* rather then *Imperator*, the chalker of it out, then the ſetter of it up) This great man would not be called Lord. Upon the ſame day that our Saviour was born, he forbad them by Edict to call him Lord, that all Lordſhip might be aſcribed to him. *Tertul. Apol. c. 34.* *Oroſius lib. 7 c. 2.* *Oroſius.*

In his time our Saviour was born, *Imperante Auguſto natus eſt Chriſtus, imperante Tiberio crucifixus.* He conſulting with the Oracle of *Delphos* about his Succeſſour, received this anſwer:

*Puer Hebræus diis beatis imperans, jubet me*
*Hanc domum linquere, & rurſus in orcum reverti:*
*Quod ſupereſt, abi tacitus ex aris noſtris.*

Whereupon *Auguſtus* coming home, in the Capitol erected an Altar, and thereon in Capitall letters cauſed this inſcription to be ingraven, *Hæc eſt Ara Primogeniti Dei.*

*Totus orbis*) *ad verbum, Tota habitabilis, ita ut ſubaudias Terra.* A Hyperbolicall ſpeech.

He is mentioned in the Scripture, *Luke* 2. 1. There came an Edict from *Auguſtus Cæſar* that all the world ſhould be taxed, *i. e.* all the Provinces ſubject to the *Roman* Empire, for the *Romans* called themſelves Lords of the whole world.

*Nulli Genti ſine juſtis & neceſſariis cauſis bellum intulit.* Suetonius. *Bellum eſt Juſtum, quod neceſſarium eſt; & arma ſunt pia, quibus nulla niſi in armis relinquitur ſpes.* Livie Decad. 1. Lib. 9.

He made not war upon any people without juſt and neceſſary cauſes; his ſaying was, *That neither battel nor war was to be undertaken, unleſſe there might be evidently ſeen more hope of gain then fear of damage.* He likened ſuch who ſought after ſmall commodities with great danger, unto thoſe that Angle with a golden hook, which if it be broken off, no draught of Fiſh whatſoever is able to make amends for the loſſe. [That was prudent advice of *Henry* the fourth K. of *France*, to *Henry* the third his Brother, who would needs with thoſe ſmall forces they had, ſalley out of Tours upon the great Army of *Charles* Duke of *Mayen*; *Sire* (quoth he) *N'hazardons pas un double Henry, contre un Carolus, i. e.* Let us not venter a double Ducket for a ſingle penny.] He was ſo troubled and aſtoniſhed at the Relation of a Foyl and overthrow of *Varus*, that for certain moneths together he let the hair

hair of his beard and head grow ſtill, and wore it long; yea, and otherwhiles would run his head againſt the doores, crying out, *Quintilius Varus*, Deliver up my Legions again. *Suetonius.*

He deemed nothing leſſe beſeeming a perfect and accompliſhed Captain, then temerity, or raſhneſſe: uſing this ſpeech, *Satis celeriter fieri, quicquid commodè geritur,* That is done ſoon enough which is done well enough. Aurel. Vict. Sueton.

He was ſo exceedingly delighted with that proverbiall ſaying, *Feſtina lentè*, that he would not onely uſe it frequently in his daily Colloquies, but would inſert it often in his Epiſtles; admoniſhing by theſe two words, that to effect any enterpriſe, both the ſpeedineſſe of Induſtry, and the ſlowneſſe of Diligence ſhould concurre. Aul. Gel. 10. l. 11. c. Macrob. Saturn. lib. 6. Eraſ. Adag.

The City being not adorned according to the Majeſty of ſuch an Empire, and ſubject to the caſualties of Deluges and fires, he beautified and ſet out ſo, as juſtly he made his boaſt, that whereas he found it built of brick, he left it all of Marble. *Vrbem lateritiam accepi, relinquo vobis marmoream.* Aurel. Vict. Sueton. Macrob.

*Auguſto profluens & quæ Principem deceret, Eloquentia fuit. Tacitus.* He had a ready, fluent, and eloquent ſpeech, ſuch as well became a Prince. *Liberalibus ſtudiis, præſertim eloquentiæ in tantum incumbens, ut nullus ne in procinctu quidem laberetur dies, quin legeret, ſcriberet, declamaret.* Aurel. Vict.

Seeing upon a time a number of Citizens clad all in black, aſſembled to hear a publick ſpeech, he with great indignation cryed out, Behold,

*Romanos rerum Dominos, gentemque togatam*

The Romans, Lords of all the world, and long rob'd Nation.

*Suetonius.* He never recommended his sons unto the people, but with this clause added thereto, *Si merebuntur*, *If they shall deserve.*

He gave charge to the Prætors of Rome, *Ne paterentur nomen suum obsolefieri*, *Not to suffer his name to be worn thread-bare.*

* *Nisi aliquo assidente, nunquam tenebris evigilavit. Sueton. lib. 2. c. 5.*

He would never lye awake in the * dark without one sitting by his Bed side.

* The Senate and people of *Rome* joyntly saluting him by the name of *Pater Patriæ*, he with teares standing in his eyes made answer unto them in these few words; Now that I have (mine honourable Lords) attained to the height of all my vowes and wishes, what remaineth else for me to crave of the immortall gods, but that I may carry with me this universall consent of yours unto my lives end?

* *Macrobius* writes of him, that he carried such an entire and fatherly affection to the Common-wealth, that he called it, *Filiam suam*, his own Daughter; and therefore refused to be called *Dominus*, the Lord or Master of his Country, and would onely be called *Pater Patriæ*, the Father of his Country, because he governed it not *per timorem*, *sed per amorem*, not by fear, but by love.

He would not lightly depart forth of the City, or any Town, nor enter into any place but in the evening, or by night, for disquieting any person in doing him honour by way of dutifull attendance. *Sueton.*

The beginning of friendship between him and *Cinna* was strange; *Cinna* had conspired against his life: After *Augustus* had discovered to him all his conspiracy which he knew, he said, *I have given thee thy life twice*;

twice; first as an enemy, then a Rebel, and now I give thee the Consulship. Let us now be friends, and henceforth strive, whether I have with a better faith given thee thy life, or thou owest it to me. Augustus (saith Suetonius in vita August.) had not thenceforward in all Rome a greater friend then Cinna, while he lived, and when he died, Cinna made him sole heire. vide Senec. l. 1. de clement. c. 9.

This was duely observed, that how often soever he entred Rome, no punishment that day was inflicted upon any person.

Qui cum triste aliquid statuit, sit tristis & ipse;
Cuiq; fere pœnam sumere, pœna sua est.

Seneca said of him, Pœnas dat, dum pœnas exigit. lib. 1. De Clemen. cap. 10. Damnatorum pœnas interdum acrius ferebat, quam qui plectebantur. Senec. lib. de Ira.

He was grieved himself when he pronounced a grievous sentence, and he thought himself punished when he punished others.

Quiq; dolet, quoties cogitur esse ferox.

* Rarus quidem ad recipiendas amicitias, ad retinendas constantissimus.

* Aurel. Vict.

He would not suddenly entertain a league of friendship with any, but was a constant friend to those he loved.

His speciall friends were Mecœnas, Agrippa, Virgil. Propertius.

——— amare
Nec citò desisto, nec temerè incipio.
Late ere I love, as long ere I leave.

Dion reporteth of him that when he gave commandment to take tribute of the Jews, he would not suffer it to be taken from them on their Sabbath, but caused them to delay it till the next day.

He permitted the Jews to use their liberties.

He slept but upon a low bed, and the same but meanly spread, and laid with cover-

Ne toro quidem cubuisse ajunt, nisi bu-

coverlets. He seldom wore any apparel but of huswives cloth, made within the house by his Wife, his Sister, and Daughter.

He was a man of very little meat, and fed for the most part on cheat bread and small Fishes.

*mili & modicè instrato. Vestè non temerè alia usus est, quam domesticâ, ab uxore & sorore, filia, nepotibusque confectâ.*

Sueton. He termed sumptuous garments, *Vexillum superbiæ, nidumque luxuriæ*, the banner of pride, and nest of lechery.

He caused the bones of *Thallus* (who had opened a Letter committed to his trust) to be broken, to the terrour of such untrusty attendants. *Suetonius.*

By one speech he did appease a tumultuous Army, *Audite juvenes senem, quem juvenem senes audiverunt.* Ye young men hearken to me now old, whom old men have hearkened unto when young.

Plutarch. in Apoph.

He had a special care to expresse his mind and meaning most plainly, and reprehended *Marcus Antonius* for writing such things, that men did rather wonder at then understand.

It was elegantly said of him, *I hate alike as departing from the mean, both Antiquaries, and affectors of novelties.*

Suetonius. *Cacozelos & antiquarios, ut diverso genere vitiosos, pari fastidio sprevit.*

He did not so much observe Orthographie, *i.e.* the form and precise rule of writing set down by Grammarians, but seemed to follow their opinion who think men should write according as they speak.

He could not away so much as with the Winter Sun-shine, and therefore at home he never walked up and down in the Aire, without

out a broad-brim'd hat upon his head.

In generall Salutations he admitted the very commons, entertaining the suits and desires of all commers with so great humanity, as that he rebuked one of them merrily, because in reaching unto him a supplication, he did it so timorously, as if he had been reaching meat to an Elephant. *Augustus militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit. Tacit. lib. 1. Annal.*

*Putas te asse Elephanto dare? Macrob. 2. lib. Sat. c. 4. Quasi Elephanto stipem. Sueton.*

He won the souldiers with gifts, the people with provision of victuals, and all with the sweetnesse of rest and peace.

He said of *Tiberius*, *Miserum populum Romanum, qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit*, O unhappy people of *Rome*, that shall be under such a slow paire of jawes. By this Enigmaticall speech, he compared the state of the people of *Rome* unto the miserable case of one, whom some savage and cruel beast hath gotten between his teeth, not devouring and dispatching him at once, but there holdeth and cheweth him a long while in exceeding paine; alluding to the secret malice and dreaming nature withall of *Tiberius*.

To expresse the speedy expedition of a thing done hastily, he used this Proverb, *Citius quam Asparagi coquantur*. Quicker (would he say) then *Sparages* can be sodden.

Sparages soon sodden, See *Erasm. Adag.*

Beholding certain rich strangers and forrainers at *Rome* carrying whelps of Doggs and Apes in their bosomes, and making much

much of them, he did ask, Whether women brought not forth children in their countries? Hereby giving a worthy and Princely admonition to them who do consume and waste upon Beasts, the naturall affection and love due to men.

*Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles* saith no more then *Cæsar*, but *Eras.* in his Apothegmes took it to be meant of *Augustus.*

When he purposed never to do what he was requested, he was wont by way of Proverb to say, That he would do it, *ad calendas Græcas*, *i. e.* in our English Proverb, *at later Lammas*, never.

*Suetonius.* The Greeks had no Calends. See *Eras.* Adag.

He was so much afraid of Thunder and Lightning, that he ever carried about with him for a preservative remedy a Seales * skin; yea, and whensoever he suspected there would be any extraordinary storm or tempest, he would retire himself into a close secret room under ground, and vauled above head.

* Or of a Sea-calf, which as *Pliny* writeth, checketh all lightnings.

*Tonitrua & fulgura paulo infirmius expavescebat, ut semper & ubique pellem vituli marini circumferret pro remedio, atque ad omnem majoris tempestatis suspicionem, in abditum & concamaratum locum se reciperet.* Suetonius.

In his time warres ceased, and learning chiefly flourished. The Temple of *Ianus* was then shut in *Rome*, peace being generall through the whole world.

Aurel. Vict. In the time of war the Temple was open.

*Horace lib 4. Carminum.*

*Ianum Quirini clausit: Et ordinem*
*Rectum, & vaganti frana licentiæ*
*Injecit, emovitque culpas,*
*Et veteres revocavit artes.*

Our Saviour was born in the 42. year of his reigne say *Epiphanius* and *Eusebius*; 41. say *Tertullian*, and *Irenæus.*

Receiving a challenge from *Anthony*, he returned

returned him this answer, That if *Anthony* had a disposition to dye, or were weary of life, there were waies enough else to death besides that. Thus the challenge was rejected, and yet his Honour untainted.

He bid *Catullus* the railing Poet to supper, to shew that he had forgiven him.

*Affectabat jocos, salvo tamen Majestatis pudoris que respectu.* He was very pleasant, and had both an excellent dexterity in breaking of Jests, and was very patient likewise in bearing of flouts. * *Probrosis in se dictis arrisit.* He made himself merry with reprochful speeches touching himself, therein manifesting his clemency, and also his wisedome.

Macrob. Saturn. l. 2. c. 4.

Seneca *de Ira.*

* *Vide Christ. Matth. Theat. Hist. in August. p. 55. 56. Convitia, si irascare, agnita videntur; spreta exolescunt.* Tacitus.

When he had by Proclamation promised a great sum of money to him that should bring in that famous *Pirate Corocota*, and put him in his power; He knowing the Emperors mild and pleasant vein, took the boldnesse to come himself, and told him that he was *Corocota* which came to submit himself, and demanded the sum promised to him that should bring him in; *Augustus* both pardoned him, and gave him the money. *Dion.*

*Macrobius* reporteth of him, that when he heard that at the commandment of *Herod*, all the children of *Syria* under two yeares old were slain, and that in the stirre his own son was also slain; *Melius est (inquit ille) Herodis porcum esse quam puerum. I had rather* (saith he) *be Herods swine then his son.*

l. 2. Saturn. cap. 4. Mat. 2. 16. For his Jewish devotiō prohibited him to deal with swine, but not Religion, nor reason, nor nature could protect those Innocents from slaughter.

He-

He commanded *Herennius* a dissolute young man to depart out of the Camp, and when he submissively entreated him not to send him home, alledging that he could not tell what to say to his Father, he answered, *Dic me tibi displicuisse*, say, that I displeased thee.

Macrob. ib. *Quoniam pudebat adolescentem fateri quibus ipse Cæsari displicuisset, Cæsar permisit ut sermonem inverteret, & culpam in ipsum conferret. Erasm. Apotheg. Macrob. ubi suprà.*

When *Pacuvius* did *petere ab eo congiarium*, and said, That it was commonly spoken among men, that he had given him a great deal of money, *Sed tu, inquit, noli credere.*

*Galba*, who had a crooked back pleading before him, and often saying, *Corrige in me si quid reprehendis*, If you find any fault in me correct it; *Augustus* answered, *Ego te monere possum, corrigere non possum*, I can but admonish thee, I cannot correct thee.

Macrob. Saturn.

Being entertained by one at a Banquet very meanly and sparingly, after all was finished he departed, and at his farewell onely whispered this in his ear, *Non putabam me tibi tam familiarem*, I did not think we had been so familiar.

Id. Ib.

When one tilled the place where his Father was buried, he said, *Hoc verè est monumentum Patris colere.*

This counsell was given him, that when the object and occasions of Choler were in his eye, he should not be moved before he

He was cholerick by nature, but his patience in bearing of bitter Jests deserved much to be commended. A certain Countrey-man came to *Rome*, who did much resemble him in outward feature, insomuch that all mens eyes were cast upon him, and *Augustus* hearing of it, caused him to be brought before him, asking him this question

stion, Whether his Mother had ever been at *Rome*; the young man answered, No, but his Father had oftentimes.

had pronounced over the letters of the Alphabet.

He sitting between *Virgil* and *Horace*, being asked by one what he did, answered, *Sedeo inter suspiria & lachrymas; per suspiria, intelligens Virgilium suspirabundum, & per lachrymas, Horatium lippientem.*

He hearing that a certain Gentleman of *Rome* (who was deeply indebted) did sleep most securely, desired to buy the Bed whereupon he rested; it seeming a matter of much marvel to him, that one fallen into so deep arrerages could take his rest so well.

*Habenda est ad somnum culcitra, in qua ille cum tantum deberet, dormire potuit*, Macrob. *Sat.* l. 2. c. 4.

When a souldier bragged too much of a great scarre in his forehead, he asked him if he did not get it when he looked back as he fled.

*At tu cum fugisti, nunquam post te respexeris?*

He wrote a Tragedie called *Ajax*, which afterwards (because it displeased him) he blotted out with a spunge. Therefore when *Lucius* a writer of Tragedies, asked him what his *Ajax* did? *Cæsar* very wittily answered, *In spongiam incubuit*, alluding to the Argument of the Fable, in which *Ajax* when he knew what things he had spoken and done in his madnesse, lying upon his sword kild himself. Besides the pretty allusion unto the fabulous History of *Ajax*, *Torrentius* hath observed in the word *Spongia* a double signification, viz. a *Spunge* called *deterilis*, which writers had at hand, either to wipe and wash out what misliked them,

them, or to blur and blot the same; whereupon *Martial* saith of it, *Vtilis hæc quoties scripta novare voles*: and also a *Sword*, which addeth the better grace unto the conceit, considering that *Ajax* fell upon his own sword.

Having conquered his enemy, and returning home victorious, amongst others that came to congratulate his happy conquest, there was one holding a Crow, which he had taught to say, *Ave Cæsar, Victor, Imperator*, God save the Emperour, and Conquerer. He wondering to see the Bird so officious, gave a great sum of money for him. His fellow workman to whom none of that liberality came, affirmed that he had at home another Crow for *Cæsar*, which he intreated he might bring; being brought, he expressed the words which he had learned; *Ave victor, Imperator Antoni.* The Emperour being nothing provoked therewith, thought it sufficient to bid him divide the donative with the other: being saluted in like manner of a Parret, he caused him to be bought. This example allured a poor Cobler to try whether he could teach a Crow to use the like salutation, but he being at great expences in vain, was wont often to say, *Opera & Impensa periit*, *all my paines and charge is lost*; but at the last the Crow began to utter the same salutation, which *Augustus* once hearing as he passed by, he answered, *Satis domi salutatorum talium habeo*, I have such saluters enough at home.

*Macrob. Saturn.*

The

The Crow remembred to adde that which he had heard his Master complaining say, *Opera & impensa periit*, at which *Cæsar* laughed, and gave more for him then any of the rest that he had bought.

*Quis expedivit Psittaco suum χαῖρε?*
*Corvos quis olim concavum salutare,* Persius.
*Picasque docuit verba nostra conari?*
*Magister artis, ingenique largitor*
*Venter, negatas Artifex sequi voces.*

He wrote a bitter Satyre against a Poët, but he wiped his lips and replyed not, saying, *Periculosum est in eum scribere qui potest proscribere.*

*Suetonius* writeth of him, that he loved the expressions of the good will of his friends, and especially such as appeared by some Legacy given at their death: but yet whatsoever it was, he would return it at one time or other to their children with advantage.

He wished three things to his Son, the favour of *Pompey*, the boldnesse of *Alexander*, and his own fortune. *Non tamen vir tantus vitiis caruit; fuit enim paululum impatiens, leviter iracundus, occultè invidus, palam factiosus, dominandi supra quam æstimari potest avidissimus, studiosissimus aleæ lusor.* Aurel. Vict.

He was not without his vices, being very impatient, secretly envious, and openly factious, very desirous to rule, and much given to dicing.

Though he was a man severe enough, yet he did not know the exceeding wantonnesse of *Iulia* his own daughter, and her open and audacious boldnesse; but *Suetonius* seemes to be of a contrary opinion, for he saith, That he was much ashamed of her,

and that once he thought to put her to death. And when a freed woman of his named *Phœbe*, one that was privy to *Julia's* lewdnesse, knit her own neck in a halter, and so ended her daies, he gave it out, *That he wisht with all his heart he had been* Phœb'es *Father.*

Out of great indignation against his two Daughters, and *Posthumus Agrippa* his Grand-child, whereof the first two were *infamous, and the last otherwise unworthy, he would say, that they *were not his seed, but some impostume broken from him,* and he used this verse of them,

*Herorum filii nonæ.*

*Outinam aut cœlebs mansissem, aut prole carerẽ!*

*Solinus.*

He was almost peerelesse in his Government, yet there are to be found so many misfortunes in his life, that a man cannot easily discern whether he was more miserable, or more happy.

*Nam ferè quoties audisset, citò, aut nullo cruciatu defunctum quempiam, sibi & suis εὐθανασίαν similem (hoc enim & verbo uti solebat) precabatur.* Suetonius.

*Bonam mortem putabat celerem & insperatam, quæ nulla ægritudine pulsaret fores:* So often as he heard of a man that had a quick passage with little sence of grief, he wished for himself and his such *Euthanasy*, such an easie death. He being at the point to dye, thus addressed himself; called for his looking-glasse, commanded to have his hair and beard combed, *Et malas labentes corrigi*, his riveled cheeks smoothed up; then asking his friends if he had acted his part well, *Cum ita responderint, vos omnes igitur, inquit, Plaudite.*

*Suetonius.*

*Vita nostra sicut fabula, nec refert quam diu, sed quam bene acta sit.*

l.15.c.7.

*Aulus Gellius* mentioneth, that he sent a letter

letter unto his step-son to this effect, Rejoyce with me my Son, for I have past over that deadly year and enemy to old age, threescore and three, in which number the sevenths and ninths do concur. The Climacterical year is fatall.

He lived fifteen yeers after Christ was born, and dyed in his 76. year.

He was beloved of his people, for they erected a statue to *Musas* the Physitian who in a sickness recovered him, and placed it by *Æsculapius*: and the Senate much honoured him being dead, by consecrating Temples to him at *Rome*, and in other famous Cities, and all the people much lamented his death, using that speech, *Vtinam aut non nasceretur, aut non moreretur*, would he had never been born, or never dyed. Aurel. Vict.

*Paterculus* said of the Roman Empire after *Augustus* death, when there was such hope of enemies, feare of friends, expectation of trouble in all, *Tanta fuit unius viri Majestas, ut nec bonis, neque contrà malos opus armis foret*; such was the Majesty of one man, that his very presence tooke away all use of Armes.

*Choyce Obſervations*

OF

# TIBERIUS CÆSAR.

*Tiberius dictus à fluvio Tibere, quòd juxta Tiberim natus eſſet.*

*Suetonius.*

LIVIA his Mother, whiles ſhe went with child of him, among many and ſundry experiments which ſhe made, and ſignes that ſhe obſerved (and all to know whether ſhe ſhould bring forth a man-child or no) took cloſely an Egge from under a Henne that was ſitting, and kept it warm, ſometime in her own, otherwhiles in her womans hands by turns one after another, ſo long untill there was hatched a Cock-chicken with a notable combe upon the head. And when he was but a very babe, *Scribonius* the Aſtrologer gave out, and warranted great matters of him, and namely, that hē ſhould one day reigne as Monarch, but yet without the Royall Enſignes, for as yet the Soveraigne power of the *Cæſars* was unknown.

He was of Perſonage tall, corpulent, big ſet and ſtrong, of ſtature above the ordinary, broad between the ſhoulders, and large breaſted, fair of complexion, great goggle-eyed, whereby he ſaw ſo clearly as is incredible to report. He uſed both hands alike; * his joynts were ſo firm, that with his finger he was able to boar through a green and ſound table, with a fillop alſo to break the head of a good big boy; his ſpeech was exceeding ſlow, not without a cer-

*Suetonius.*

* *Nullius manus vel ad feriendum vel ad impellendum fortiores fuerunt, quum in digitis nervos videretur*

a certain wanton gesticulation and fumbling with his fingers.

habuisse venas; nam & carra venientis digito salutari repulisse dicitur, & fortissimos quosque uno digito sic afflixisse, ut quasi signi vel ferri obpusioris ictu percussi dolerent. Multa duorum digitorum allisione contrivit. Trebel. Pollio de triginta tyrannis in Mario.

He refused the Empire a long time, putting on a most impudent and shameless mind, and seeming to rebuke his friends encouraging him thereto, as those who knew not what a monstrous and untamed beast an Empire was. He also held the Senate in suspence by ambiguous answers, and crafty delayes, when they besought him to take it upon him, yea and humbly debased themselves before his knees, insomuch as some of them could endure him no longer, and one among the rest in that tumult cryed out aloud, Let him either doe it at once, or else give over quite; and another openly to his face upbraided him in these words, *Cæteri, quod pollicentur tardè præstant, tu quod præstas tardè polliceris.* Whereas other men be slack in doing and performing that which they have promised, thou art slack in promising that which thou performest. In the end, as if he had been compelled, and complaining withall that there was imposed upon his shoulders a miserable and burdensome servitude, he took the Empire upon him.

Tiberio suspensa sententia, & obscura verba. Tacitus.

Aut agat, aut desinat. Erasm. Apophtheg. Simile est Ciceronis istud de Epicureis 2. de fin. cæteri (inquit) existimantur dicere melius quam facere, hi mihi videntur facere melius quam dicere.

The cause of this holding off and delay that he made, was the fear of imminent dangers on every side, in so much as he would

*Dicitur in eos qui ejuſmodi negotiis involvuntur, quod neque relinquere ſit integrum, neque tolerari poſſit. Eraſ. Adag. Eraſ. in Apoph. & alii.*

often ſay, *Lupum ſe auribus tenere*, he held a Wolf by the ears.

Hee knowing excellently well how to conceal his own private paſſions, made himſelf be known to be an excellent Doctor in the cunning Art of diſcovering other mens thoughts, by which he may be ſaid to ſet the roof over the Roman Monarchy. Advertiſements from *Parnaſſus* by *Bocalini*. Century 2. Advertiſ. 33. See more there.

He was very patient when any bad rumours or ſlanderous Libels were caſt out, either of himſelf or thoſe about him, and was wont to ſay (how wiſely I determine not) *In civitate libera linguam mentemque liberas eſſe debere*, That in a free State men ought to have both tongue and thought free.

*Sueton.*

He taxed the indiſcretion of the Ilienſes comforting him long after the death of his Son, with this anſwer, That he alſo was very ſorry for them, becauſe they had loſt

*Sueton.*

that worthy Citizen *Hector*, one dead many hundred years before.

He was mild and gracious at the firſt, and ſeemed to be enclined to the good of the Common-wealth: when the Preſidents and Governours abroad gave him counſell to burthen the Provinces with heavie Tributes and Taxes; he wrote back unto them, *Boni Paſtoris eſt tondere pecus, non deglubere*, That it was the part of a good ſhepheard to ſhear his ſheep, and not to flea them.

*Et Alexand. Magnus ſolitus erat dicere, ſe odiſſe olitorem qui herbas radicitus convelleret.*

He

He held it good policy not to change his Officers often, lest new ones succeeding should oppresse the people too much; whereas the old having meanes to enrich themselves, would not so fleece them in the latter end as at the beginning, making hast to do it, lest they were removed before they could feather their nests well. See *Montagues* Acts and Monum. of the Church. c. 5. p. 37.

That by his own Example he might put forward the publick frugality, he himself at his solemn and festivall suppers, caused oftentimes to be served up to the Board viands dressed the day before, and those half eaten, saying, That the side of a wild Boar had in it the same of the whole.

*Et ut parsimoniam publicam exemplo quoque juvaret, solemnibus ipse cœnis pridiana sæpe ac semesa opsonia appositi, dimidiatumque aprum, affirmans omnia eadem habere quæ totum.*

One there was who called him *Dominus*, that is, *Sir*, but he gave him warning not to name him any more by way of contumely. Another chanced to say, *His sacred businesse*; and a third again, That he went into the Senate, *Auctore se*, that is, *by his warrant* or *authority*. He caused them both to change those words, and for *auctore* to say *suasore*, that is, By his advise and counsell; and in stead of sacred, to put in laborious and painfull.

*Quotidiana oscula prohibuit edicto, item strenarum commercium.* He forbad expresly by Edict the usuall and daily kisses commonly given and taken, likewise the entercourse of New-yeares gifts to and fro.

*Suetonius* writeth of him, that he did

*Iura omnibus ferè asylis adimere*, Take away the priviledge of almost all their Sanctuaries, because he observed the licentious abuse of them.

At length he discovered those vices, which with much adoe for a long time he had cloaked and concealed.

*Noctem continuumque biduum epulando potandoque consumpsit.* Sueton.

He was very cruell, covetous, and libidinous. He spent with *Flaccus Pomponius* and *L. Piso*, a whole night and two dayes outright in nothing else but eating and drinking; giving the Province of *Syria* into the Government of the first, and conferring the Provostship of *Rome* on the other, professing even in all his Letters, that they were *Jucundissimi, & omnium horarum Amici*, his most pleasant Companions, and friends at all Assaies. *Propter nimiam vini aviditatem*, for his excessive love of wine and hot waters, or because he loved to drink wine hot, which is delicate,* he was for *Tiberius* named *Biberius*, for *Claudius*, *Caldius*, for *Nero*, *Mero*.

Suetonius. * *Elegans Parnomasia.* So some played upon the name of *Epiphanes*, and called him *Epimanes*, or madman. See *Junius* on 8. *Din.* Others call the Duke of *Lorrain* the Duke *des Larrons*. *Le Theatre du monde l.* 2. See after in *Caligula* and *Titus*. *Pliny l* 14. of Naturall Hist. Nor the thrice gallant Knight.

One gives this reason of his drunkennesse, because his Nurse that gave him suck would drink exceedingly her self, and nourished him with sops soaked in wine.

A Lombard, for drinking in his presence three Gallons of wine at one draught, and before he took his breath again, was dubbed Knight by him, and surnamed *Tricongius*, The three-Gallon Knight.

*Athenæus memorat de* Xenocrate, *illum scilicet uno hausiu sorpsisse vini congium.* Gassend. *de vita* Epicuri *lib.* 6. *c.* 6.

He

He erected a new Office, *à voluptatibus*, for the devising of new pleasures, wherein he placed *Priscus* a Gentleman of *Rome*, and one who had been Censor.

*Nero* had an Officer about him (to wit *Petronius*) who was called *Arbiter Neronianæ libidinis*, Tacit. *Annal. l.* 16.

He advanced *Sejanus* to the highest place of Authority, not so much for any good will, as to be his instrument for the accomplishing his wicked purposes.

He put to death a Souldier one of his own Guard, for stealing a Peacock out of a Garden.

*Latinis abstracta pro concretis simpliciter posita intendunt id quod dicitur; plus enim quam vel sordidum designat, vel sanguineum, eximie nimirum talem. Mentitur qui te vitiosum, Zoile, dixit. Non vitiosus homo es, Zoile, sed vitium. Heins. Exercit. Sac.*

*Theodorus Gadareus* his Master observing his bloody disposition, called him, *Lutum sanguine maceratum*, A lump of clay soaked in blood; these verses were cast out of him:

*Fastidit vinum, quia jam sitit iste cruorem;*
*Tam bibit hunc avidè, quàm bibit ante merum.*
*He loatheth wine, and now he after blood doth thirst;*
*Drinkes this as greedily as wine he dranke at first.*

He thought simple death so light a punishment, that when he heard that *Carnulius* one of the Prisoners had laid violent hands on himself, he cryed out, *Carnulius me evasit*, *Carnulius* hath escaped my hands. Sueton.

His saying was, *Oderint dum probent*, Let them hate me so long as they suffer my proceedings to passe. Suoton.

*Nullus à pœna hominum cessavit dies, ne religiosus quidem ac sacer.*

There passed not a day over his head, no not so much as any festivall and Religious Holy day, without execution and punishment of some: many were accused and condem-

condemned, together with their Children and Wives. Straight commandment was given, that the near kinsfolkes of such persons as were condemned to dye should not mourn and lament for them. No Informer and Promoter was discredited, but his Presentment taken, and every crime and trespasse was accounted capitall.

Suetonius. He said to one that requested death rather than long imprisonment, *Nondum tecum redii in gratiam*, Thou art not yet reconciled to me that I should shew thee such favour.

Tacitus. Suetonius. Because Virgins by a received custome were not to be strangled; he caused the Hangman first to defloure a Virgin, and then to strangle her.

Suetonius. Among other kinds of torment he devised, that when men had drunk largely of strong wine, their privy parts should be fast bound with Lute-strings, that so for want of means to avoid their Urine, they might indure intollerable pain.

Suetonius. *Felicem Priamum vocabat, quod superstes omnium suorum extitisset.* He called *Priamus* happy, in that he over-lived all his Sons and Daughters.

See the like in *Augustus* his life. He feared Thunder exceedingly, and when the air or weather was any thing troubled, he ever carried a Chaplet or wreath of Lawrell about his neck, because that (as *Pliny* reporteth) is never blasted with Lightning.

*Ingenio ad repentina longè acriore.* Aurel. Vict. He loved liberall Sciences most affectionately, he would do things better of a sud-

den,

den, *ex tempore*, then upon ſtudy and premeditation, *Repentinis reſponſionibus aut conſiliis melior, quàm meditatis.*

He was much addicted to Aſtrologicall predictions, and ſuch curious Arts, ſo that the greater part of thoſe things which he executed in all his life time was ordered thereby; he gave the more credit to Divination, becauſe in certain things he had found the conjectures correſpondent to truth.

*Scribit Plutarchus in Apophthegmatis, Auguſtum dicere ſolitum, ſe Romani Imperii ſucceſſorem eum eſſe veſturum, qui nunquam bis de eadem re conſultaſſet; Tiberium ſignificare volebat.* Joſephus lib. 18. of the Antiquity of the Jews, c. 8.

He ſeeing *Galba* one day coming towards him, ſpake thus of him to certain of his familiars, Behold the man that ſhall be one day honoured with the Roman Empire.

*Tu quoque Galba degustabis imperium.* Tacit. l. 4. Annal.

He made a Law called *Lex Papia*, by which he forbad ſuch men as were paſt ſixty, or women paſt fifty to marry, as thinking them inſufficient for generation; to which *Lactantius* ſeemes to allude, thus jeſting at the Heathen touching their great god *Jupiter*; How cometh it to paſſe, that in your Poets, ſalacious *Jupiter* begets no more children? is he paſt ſixty, and reſtrained by the *Papian* Law?

*Lib. 1. Divin. Inſtit. c. 16.*

Many of the Roman *Cæſars* have been tranſported with ſelf-admiration, they have ſhared the Months of the year among them; April muſt be *Neroneus*, May *Claudius*, *Domitian* will have October, November is for *Tiberius*, by the ſame token, that when it

*Vide* Tacit. l. 16. Anal. c. 12.

was

was tendered to him, he askt the Senate wittily (as *Xiphiline* reports it) *What they would do when they should have more then twelve Cæsars?*

It is called the Sea of *Tiberias*, *Iohn 6.1.* from a City on the bank of it, of that name, built by *Herod*, in honour of *Tiberius Cæsar*, as *Josephus* writeth in the 18. Book of his Jewish Antiquities.

*Eusebius.* *Livie* and *Ovid* dyed in the fourth year of *Tiberius.*

*Pilate* by Letters signified unto him the Miracles of our Saviour Christ, his Resurrection, and that he was supposed of many to be God. The Romans had a Law, forbidding any Emperour to consecrate or set up any god which was not first approved by the Senate; for *Tiberius Cæsar* hearing of Christs fame, by vertue of that Law moved the Senate to promulgate and relate Christ among the number of their gods, who rejected him because he would be God alone, or because contrary to the Law of the Romans he was consecrated for God, before the Senate of *Rome* had so declared and approved him; whose folly *Tertullian* thus scoffeth; *Apud vos de humano arbitrio divinitas pensitatur, nisi homini Deus placuerit, non erit Deus, homo jam Deo propitius esse debet*, That God should be God if man would let him.

In Apologet. They refused to do it saith *Eusebius, l.2. Hist. Eccle. c.2.* that the wisedome and Divine power of God in the Doctrine of salvation might not need the allowance and commendation of men.

*Josephus*

*Josephus* a Jew, and an enemy to Christ, in his 8. Book of Antiquities, *c.* 4. speakes the same things of Christ that *Matthew* doth; that he was a most worthy man, if it be lawfull to call him a man (said he,) that he wrought many Miracles, and that he rose from the dead. *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* speak of his Miracles, *Tacitus l.* 15. *Annal. c.* 10. affirmes that he was Crucified under *Pilate* in the time of *Tiberius*, and that *Tiberius* would have put him in the number of his gods. *Plutarch De interitu Orac.* reports, that under the Reigne of *Tiberius* all the Oracles of the world ceased, of which the Poets bear witnesse, —— *cessant oracula Delphis. Iuv. Sat.* 6.

*Christus Tiberio imperante, per Procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat.*

*Plutarch* also in the same book reports, that in the later yeares of the reigne of *Tiberius*, a strange voice and exceeding horrible clamours, with hideous cries, screetches and howlings were heard by many in the Grecian Sea, complaining that the great god *Pan* was now departed. And this was brought before the Emperour, who marvelled greatly thereat, and could not by all his Diviners and Soothsayers whom he called to that consultation, be able to gather out any reasonable meaning of this wonderfull accident: but Christians may perswade themselves, that by the death of their great god *Pan* (which signifies all) was imported the utter overthrow of all wicked spirits. *John* 12. 31.

Our Lord was Crucified in the 15. year of

of his reigne, say * *Tertullian* and * *Lactantius*.

* *Lib. adversus Judæos.*
* *Lib. 4. de vera sapientia c. 10.*
*Vide Vossium de tempore Dominicæ passionis. Sect. 3.*

But *Luke* the Evangelist, 3. *c.* 1. *v.* maketh his Baptisme to fall in the 15. year of *Tiberius* his reigne. So then his Passion must be in the 18. or 19. for three yeares he preached salvation. *Jerome* and *Eusebius*.

The fear of losing his Office under *Tiberius Cæsar*, (whose Deputy he was over the Province of *Judæa*,) made *Pilate* condemn Christ, *John* 19. 12. 13. but not long after, he lost his Deputy-ship and *Cæsars* favour, and fled to *Vienna*, where living in banishment he killed himself; *Euseb. Hist. l.* 2. *c.* 7.

*Romani Cæsares imaginem suam imprimebant monetæ tam aureæ quam argenteæ.* Drusius.

*Matth.* 22. 21. Our Saviour saith, *Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars.*

The money declared the subjection of their Nation; as if he should have said, If you think it absurd to pay Tribute, be not subject to the Roman Empire; but the money declareth that *Cæsar* reigneth over you, and your own secret allowance declareth that the liberty which you pretend, is lost and taken away. *Jerome* on the place doth well observe, that the name of *Cæsar* is not proper, but Appellative, because from the first Emperour *Julius Cæsar* all the rest were so called. Yet saith *Gerhard* in his *Harmony*, Christ properly understands *Tiberius* who then ruled, whose Image the money did bear; to that wicked Emperour Tribute was due; so that charge 1 *Tim.* 2. 2. was given by *Paul*; even then when *Cæsar* was a per-

a persecutor of the Christian Religion.

*Austin* tells us, He that gave Soveraignty to *Augustus*, gave it also to *Nero*; he that gave it to the *Vespatians* Father and Son, sweetest Emperours, gave it also to *Domitian* that bloody monster, *De civit. Dei. l. 5. c. 21.*

*Tiberius* approved of the Christians Opinions, and threatned Death to them which accused them: This came to passe (saith * *Eusebius*) by Divine providence, that the Doctrine of the Gospel having no rubbe at the first, might run over the whole world.

*Dion* writes, that a Phœnix was seen before the last year of *Tiberius*, which bird is an Embleme of the Resurrection, and signifieth that at that time Christ rose from the dead, and that the Gospel was then spread abroad, which affirmeth that the Dead shall rise again. *Charion. Chron.*

He dyed in the 78. year of his age, say *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, and *Aurel. Vict.* 83. saith *Eutropius*. It was thought he was poysoned.

He raigned 23. yeares say *Eutropius*, *Suetonius*, *Orosius*. 24. saith *Aurel. Vict.* 22. yeares, 7. moneths, and 20. dayes, *Tertull.* 22. yeares, *Clem. Alexand.* 22. yeares, 7. moneths, and so many dayes, saith *Dion*, 22. yeares and six moneths, *Iosephus*.

He raigned 22. yeares and 7. moneths; but the reason of the different computation, why some give unto him but 22. years, some 24. some but 23. is; because some count onely the full yeares, some the moneths of his first and last year for whole yeares,

* l. 2. Eccles. Hist. c. 2. He withheld a Legacy from the people of *Rome*, which his predecessor *Augustus* had lately given; and perceiving a fellow round a dead Corse in the ear, he would needs know wherefore he did so, the fellow replyed, that hee wished the departed soul to signifie to *Augustus*, the Commons of *Rome* were yet unpaid for this bitter jest the Emperour caused him forthwith to be slain, and carry the news himself.

Doctor *Willet* on the Rom. 22. yeares, 11. months, 14. dayes, saith *Euseb.* as Doctor

yeares, some put the odde moneths together, and make one year of them.

He raigned after our Saviours Passion 4. years, 11. moneths, and 18. dayes.

The people joyed so much at his death, that running up and down at the first tidings thereof, some cryed out in this note, *Tiberium in Tiberim*, Let *Tiberius* be cast into *Tiber*; some offered sacrifices when they heard of it, and one meeting with his Master in some publick place, told him in the Hebrew Tongue, The Lion was dead.

*Willet* sheweth in his Hexapla on *Dan.* where the account differs from this certain months, because he followeth *Eusеb.* computation there.

# Choyce Obſervations
## OF
# CAIV'S CALIGVLA.

SOme ſay this name of *Caligula* was given him, for a certain kind of ſhooe called *Caliga*, uſed among men of warre, and worn by him; or he got it by occaſion of a merry word taken up in the Camp, becauſe he was brought up there in the habit of an ordinary and common ſouldier among the reſt. Suetonius. *Quia natus in exercitu fuerat, cognomentum calceamenti militaris, i. e. Caligulæ ſortitus eſt.*

*Cajus, cognomen Caligæ cui caſtra dederunt.* Auſonius.

He carried himſelf well before he was Emperour, ſo that it was ſaid of him, *Nec ſervum meliorem ullum, nec deteriorem Dominum fuiſſe.* There was never a better ſervant, and a worſe Maſter. Aurel. Vict.

He was very tall of ſtature, pale and wan-coloured, of body ſomewhat groſſe and unfaſhionable, his eyes ſunk in his head, and his Temples were hollow, his fore-head was broad, the hair of his head grew thin, in all parts elſe he was hairy and ſhagged, and therefore it was a capitall offence, either to look upon him as he paſſed by, from an higher place, or once

but to name a * Goat upon any occasion whatsoever. His face and visage being naturally stern and grim, he made of purpose more crabbed and hideous; composing and dressing it in a looking-glasse, all manner of waies to seem more terrible, and to strike greater fear. Being clad oftentimes with a cloake of needle-work, and embroidered with divers colours, and the same set out with precious stones; in a coat also with long sleeves, and wearing bracelets withall, he would come abroad into the City.

* *Suetonius.* It was held *crimen læsæ Majestatis*, against his Imperiall person. *Speed. Vultus horridus.* Sueton. *Torserat per omnia quæ in rerum natura tristissima sunt, fidiculis, Eculeo, igne, vultu suo.* Seneca. *lib. 3. de Ira.* He said, that he did approve of nothing so much in his nature as his immodesty.

On a time esteeming it a thing correspondent to his greatnesse who was Emperor, to exact that superiority on the Sea, which was answerable to his Soveraignty on the Land, being to crosse the Sea between *Puteoli* a City in *Campania*, and *Misenum* another maritime town, he caused a Bridge to be built betwixt one Cape of the Sea unto another, for the space of three miles and more, on which he commanded himself to be drawn in a Chariot, as if it were answerable to his Dignity.

Sueton. *Novum & inauditum spectaculi genus.*

Some are of opinion that he invented such a kind of Bridge in emulation of *Xerxes*, who not without the wonder of the world, made a Bridge of planks over *Hellespont* an arm of the Sea, somewhat narrower than this: Others, that by a bruit blazed abroad of some huge and monstrous piece of work, hee might terrifie *Germany* and *Britain*, upon which

Countries

Countries hee meant to make warre.

He maintained his reputation with his Grand-father *Tiberius*, by no meanes but this; he shadowed his cruell mind with subtill modesty, and shewed not discontent either for the condemnation of his Mother, or the banishment of his Brethren: *Pari habitu semper cum Tiberio, haud multum distantibus verbis*. He did imitate him in his apparell, in his words, in all things as near as possibly he could.

He succeeded *Tiberius* in the Empire, but in cruelty farre exceeded him. Thus farre forth as of a Prince (saith *Suetonius*,) relate we must as of a Monster. *Tacit. lib. 6. Annal.*

He usurped the name of a god, commanding his subjects to dignifie him with more then humane honours; and ascending the Capitol, which among all the Temples in *Rome* is most religiously honoured, he was so bold as to salute *Jupiter*, and to call him brother. *Sueton. Aurel. Vict.*

In his Temple stood an Idol of fine gold, of himself; which was daily clothed and adorned with the like garments which he then wore: *Cuffe* of Affectation.

——— *Divûmque sibi poscebat honores.*

He sent *Petronius* with an Army to *Jerusalem*, commanding him to set his statue in the Temple, and if the Jewes refused to receive it, that those who withstood him he should put to the sword, and lead the rest captive; but partly by *Petronius* his prudence, and through *Aristobulus* his intercession with him, and King *Agrippa's* with *Caligula*, it was hindered. *Joseph. l. 18. Antiq. c. 11. & 2. de belle Judaic. c. 9.*

The like is in the 21. *lib.* of *Tacitus*, where he thus writeth of the Jewes, *Sub Tiberio*

*quies, deinde jussi a Caio Cæsare effigiem ejus in Templo locare, arma potius sumpsere; quem motum mors Cæsaris diremit.*

Suetonius. He gave it out openly, that his own Mother was begotten by Incest which *Augustus* committed with his own daughter *Iulia*.

Suetonius. He caused his Brother *Tiberius* to be slain, and reserved his Uncle *Claudius* (who was his Successour in the Empire) for nothing else, but to make him his laughing-stock.

Many of honourable rank were by him put to death, and sawed asunder in the midst, because they had no good opinion of his shewes, or had not sworn by his *Genius*.

*Per Genium Principis Romanos jurare solitos, testes sunt Jurisconsulti nostri, quemadmodum & per salutem Principis, & per Principis venerationem.* Schildius *in Calig.*

An ordinary thing it was at *Rome* to swear by the *Genius*, as also by the *Fortune*, and the health of their Emperours. And what a devout Oath was this, *Per Genium*, that is, the spirit or superintendent Angell of the Prince? which I take to be as much as his own good self, as appeareth by *Tertullian*, *Citius apud vos per omnes Deos, quam per Genium principis, pejeratur*, Doct. *Holland* in Annotat. in *Sueton.*

Apologet. c. 28.

Suetonius. He forced Parents to be present at the execution of their own children.

And when one Father excused himself by reason of sickness, he sent a litter for him. Another of them immediately after the heavy spectacle of his Son put to death, he invited to his own board, made him great cheer, and by all manner of courtesie provoked him to jocondness and mirth.

Suetonius.

When

When his Grand-mother *Antonia* seemed to give him some admonition, *Memento, ait, omnia mihi in omnes licere.*

When he had at one time condemned a sort of Frenchmen and Greeks together, he made his boast, That he had subdued *Gallo-græcia*, a Nation mixt of French and Greekes.

After he had well drunk and eaten, hee took pleasure to cast his friends into the Sea, from on high from a bridge which he built at *Puteoli* before mentioned, and caused many to be drowned which sought to save them. *Dion. lib.* 50. of his Hist. *Suetonius* in *Calig. cap.* 32.

He would not permit any to suffer death, but after many strokes given, and those very softly. His Command being generally and commonly known, *Ita feri ut se mori sentiat*, Strike so, that they may feel themselves dying, and endure the paines of an enduring death.

*Ita in bello civili Mariano, Marius quidam particulatim amputatus, diu vivere vel potius diu mori coactus est, ut inquit eleganter* Augustin *lib.* 3. *de civ. Dei. Scbildius.*

He executed on a time one whom he had not appointed to dye, by errour only, and mistaking his name: but it makes no matter, quoth he, for even he also hath deserved death.

A certain Citizen of Prætors degree, desired oftentimes from the retiring place where he was at *Anticyra* (into which Isle he went for his healths sake) to have his Licence continued; but he gave order he should be killed outright, adding these words therewith, That blood-letting was

Hellebore that groweth in the Isle *Anticyra*, is of most effectuall operation; the root is that whereof is made our sneesing powder, it purgeth extremely by vomit; thereupon ariseth the Proverb, *Naviget Anticyram*, that is, *Let him sail to Anticyra*; applyed to one that is melancholike in the highest degree, and little better then mad. See *Plinies* naturall Hist. l. c. 342.

necessary for him who in so long time had found no good by *Hellebore*, that is, by purging.

Being highly displeased upon a time with the multitude, for favouring the contrary faction to his, would God (quoth he) that the people of *Rome* had but one neck, meaning to chop them off at one blow; *Vox carnifice quàm Imperatore dignior. Xiphil.* A speech fitter for an Hang-man then an Emperour: Over whom the people of *Rome* afterward insulted, being kild by *Chæreas*.

*At tu (inquit) unam cervicem habes, nos verò manus multas.*

*He* was wont openly to complain of the unhappy condition of his time wherein he lived, as not renowned by any publick calamities; that his Government was like to be forgotten by the calm and prosperous current of all things, and therefore he would often wish for the overthrow of his Armies, Famine, Pestilence, Fire, Earthquakes, and the like.

*Queri de conditione temporum suorum solebat, quod nullis calamitatibus publicis insignirentur,* Sueton.

*Nonnunquam horreis præclusis populo famem indixit.*
*He proclaimed a famine without scarcity.*

*Suetonius.*

While he was at his recreations and disports, he practised the same cruelty both in word and deed; oftentimes as he sate at dinner, some were examined upon the Rack

in

in his presence, and others had their heads struck off.

His saying was, *Oderint dum metuant*, *Let them hate me, so they fear me.*

Being one day very free at a great feast, he suddenly brake forth into a great laughter, and the Consuls who were next him, demanding whereat he laughed so, his answer was, *Quid, nisi uno meo nutu jugulari utrumque vestrûm statim posse?* At what else (quoth he) but this, that with one nod of my head I can have both your throats cut immediately?

As oft as he kissed the neck of his Wife or Concubine, he would commonly adde, *Tam bona cervix, simulac jussero, demetur.* As fair and lovely a neck as this is, off it shall go if I do but speak the word.

Suetonius. *Dirissimæ immanitatis dictum; sed in Historia Turcarum factum legimus hoc etiam dicto crudelius.* Schildius *in* Calig. *vide plura ibid.*

He complained of the iniquity of the time, that one doubting to be poysoned of him, did take counterpoison, or a remedy against it; what sayes he, *Antidotum adversus Cæsarem?* Is there any Antidote against *Cæsar*?

His cruelty (as *Dion* saith) was not imputed to his Father or Mother, but to his Nurce, which was a most cruell woman her self, and used to rub her breast nipple with blood, causing him to suck it; which he practised also afterwards, for he did not onely delight in the committing of many Murders, but through his insatiable desire of blood, would with his tongue suck and lick of the blood that stuck upon the sword or dagger.

De Consol. ad Helviam. c. 9.

*Videtur Natura edidisse*, (saith Seneca) *ut ostenderet quid summa vitia in summa fortuna possent.* Nature seemed to have brought him forth, to shew what effects the greatest vices joyned with the greatest fortune could produce.

In his Preface to his fourth book of naturall questions.

And it may justly be verified of his times, what *Senecca* saith in another place, *Res humanas sub illo in eum statum decidisse, ut inter misericordiæ opera haberetur occidi.* Under him things were brought to that passe, as it was reckoned amongst the workes of mercy to be slain.

Aurel. Vict.

*De quo nescio an decuerit memoriæ prodi, nisi forte quia juvat de Principibus nosse omnia, ut improbi saltem famæ metu talia declinent.*

Concerning whom (saith *Aurel. Victor*) I know not whether it shall be meet to have recorded any thing, but that peradventure it is expedient to know all things of Princes, that wicked men at least with fear of the report may decline such things.

He was very expert in the Greek, and vulgar Roman Tongues. He was also of a fluent speech, and if he had been to plead and declaime against one, when he was angry once, he had both words and sentences at will: when he was about to make an Oration, his manner was to threaten in these termes, viz. *That he would draw forth and let drive at his adversary, the keen weapon and dart of his night-study by Candle-light.*

*Peroraturus stricturum se incubationis suæ telum minabatur.* Sueton.

He would have removed the writings of *Virgil* and *Livie* out of all Libraries; he said,

ſaid, *Virgil* was a man of no wit, and very mean learning, and taxed *Livie* of verboſity, and negligence in penning his Hiſtory.

He ſaid, *Seneca's* works were *Arena ſine calce*, Sand without Lime, becauſe he often ſpoke ſhort Sentences, having no connexion amongſt themſelves.

*Minutiſſimis ſententiis rerum fregit pondera*, ſaith *Quintilian* of *Seneca*. Sueton.

*Nepotinis ſumptibus omnium prodigorum ingenia ſuperavit.* In riotous and waſtfull expences he exceeded the wits and inventions of all the prodigall ſpend-thrifts that ever were, inventing moſt monſtrous kinds of meats, and making ſumptuous Feaſts. He would drink off moſt precious and coſtly Pearls diſſolved in Vinegar. *Luxus fuit portentoſi, ut qui etiam panes deauratos habuerit.* He ſpent in one year two Millions, and 700000. of Seſtertiums. He would ſet before his Gueſts, loaves of Bread and other viands all of * Gold, ſaying commonly withall, *Aut frugi hominem eſſe oportere, aut Cæſarem*, That a man muſt either be frugall, or elſe *Cæſar*.

*Commentus portentoſiſſima genera ciborum atque cœnarum.* Sueton.

* Which had a glorious ſight to look on, yet there was nothing for the contentation of Nature: ſo the Papiſts ſet their glittering ſervice of Heb. Gr. and Lat. before the people, a goodly ſhew to gaze on, and wonder at. Bish. *Jewel. Cæl. Rhodig.* Suetonius.

He held the wills of great men as void and of no effect, in caſe any perſon would come forth and ſay, That they purpoſed and intended at their death to make *Cæſar* their Heir; he declared alſo by an Edict, that he would receive New-yeares gifts, and ſo

*Hic non toto vertente anno ſex millia ſeptingenta & quinquaginta myriadum aureorum prodegit.* Cæl. Rhod.

*lect. Antiq. l. 20. c. 14.*

so he stood the first day of *Ianuary* in the entrie of his house, ready to take what pieces of money soever came, which the multitude of all sects and degrees, with full hands and bosomes powred out before him; nay, he took such delight in handling of mony, that oftentimes he would both walk bare-footed up and down, yea, and wallow also a good while with his whole body upon huge heapes of coyned pieces of gold spread here and there in a most large open place.

*Contrectandæ pecuniæ cupidine inoensus. Sæpe super immensos aureorum acervos patentissimo diffusos loco, & nudis pedibus spatiatus, & toto corpore aliquandiu volutatus est.* Sueton.

There were in his secret Cabinet found two Bookes, bearing divers titles. The one had for the inscription, *Gladius*, the Sword; the other, *Pugio*, i. e. the Dagger, or Rapier; They contained both of them the markes and names of such as were appointed unto death. There was found beside, a big chest full of divers and sundry poisons, which soon after being by *Claudius* drowned in the Sea, infected and poisoned the same, and many Fishes were killed therewith, which the Tide cast into the next shores.

These things were found after his death. *Pugio à pungendo, quia punctim potius quam cæsim vulnerat.* Sueton.

He set light by the gods, and threatned the Aire if it rained upon his Game-players, *Quanta dementia fuit? putavit aut sibi noceri ne a Iove quidem posse, aut se nocere & Iovi posse. Senec. de Ira. lib. 1. cap. 16.* How great madnesse was it to think that either Iupiter could not hurt him, or that himself could hurt Jupiter? Yet notwithstanding at the least thunder and lightning he used to wink close

See before in the life of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*.

cloſe with both eyes, to enwrap alſo and cover his whole head; but if the ſame were greater and ſomewhat extraordinary, he would ſtart out of his Bed, and hide himſelf under the Bed-ſted.

*Dion* reporteth of two, that when the Emperour was ſick, thinking to get much as a reward for their great love to the Emperour, vowed, that on condition he might live, they themſelves would dye to excuſe him; he recovering, afterward took them at their word, and put them to death, leaſt they ſhould break their vow, and prove perjured perſons.

Having recalled one from exile which had been long baniſhed, he demanded of him, What he was wont to do there? Who made anſwer thus by way of flattery, *I prayed* (quoth he) *to the gods alwayes, that Tiberius* (as now it is come to paſſe) *might perish, and you become Emperour.* Hereupon *Caligula* thinking that thoſe whom he had baniſhed prayed likewiſe for his death, ſent about into the Iſlands to kill them every one. *Sueton.*

In taking the review of Goales, and Priſoners therein, as they were ſorted to their offences, he without once looking upon the title and cauſe of their impriſonment, ſtanding onely within a Gallery, commanded that all in the midſt, *à calvo ad calvum*, that is, from one bald pate to another, ſhould be led forth to execution. *Sueton.*

He was murthered at laſt himſelf, who had

had put so many to death. He lived 29. years saith *Suetonius*, 39. *Eutropius*. He reigned three years, ten moneths, and eight dayes, say *Suetonius* and *Eutropius*; four years say *Clemens*, *Tacitus*, and *Sextus Aurel.* four years, ten moneths, and eight dayes, saith *Beda*; three years, nine moneths, 28. dayes, saith *Dion*; three years, eight moneths, and thirteen dayes, saith *Tertullian*; three years, six moneths, *Iosephus*; three years, nine moneths, 22. dayes saith *Epiphanius*: but the whole time of his reigne was three yeares, ten moneths, and eight dayes. They which give to him full four yeares, count the odde moneths and dayes for a whole year.

Onely 28. yeares, 4. moneths, and 24. dayes, *Casaubon.* There is a great difference amōg Chronographers, about the computation of his years. Three years, ten moneths, and eighteen dayes, saith *Euseb.* Doctor *Willet* on the Epist. to the Rom.

*Valerius Asiaticus*, who had been Consul, came forth among the people, who were in an uproar because of the rumours of the Emperours death, & supposing it a strange matter that no man knew who had slain the Emperour, whilst every one enquired who it was that had done the deed, *O*, said he, *would it had been I that had done it!*

*Ioseph.* l. 19. of the Antiq. of the Jews. c. 1.

*Vtinam ego eum interfecissem.* Xiphilin.

His death concerned the security of the Lawes, and the safety of all men; and had he not been speedily cut off, *Our Nation* (saith *Iosephus*) *almost had been utterly exterminated.*

His monies were all melted by the decree of the Senate; as King *Richard* the thirds Cognizance the white Bore was torn from every signe, that his Monument might perish. *Speed.*

# *Choyce Observations*

## OF

# CLAVDIVS CÆSAR.

AFter the death of *Caligula*, certain Souldiers in a hurry going to plunder the Pallace, one perceiving the feet of a man hidden in a hole, plucks him out by the heeles; this proves to be *Claudius*, who falling on his knees, and desiring his life might be spared, the Souldiers lift him on their shoulders, and proclaim him Emperour; This took so with the multitude, that the Senate for their own safety were fain to give way unto it.

In the fiftieth year of his Age he attained to the Empire, and he was the first of all the *Cæsars*, that obliged unto him the Souldiers fealty by a fee and reward.

*Primus Cæsarum fidem militis præmio pignoratus.* Sueton.

His Mother *Antonia* was wont to call him, *Portentum hominis*; The Monster, and fantasticall shape of a man, as if he had not been finished, but onely begun by Nature; and if she reproved any one for his foolishnesse, she would say, *He was more sottish then her Son Claudius.*

*Nec absolutum à Natura, sed inchoatum.* Suetonius.

He was personable, and carried a presence not without Authority and Majesty.

His

His countenance was lively, his gray haires beautifull, which became him well, with a good fat and round neck under them; yet many things disgraced him, *viz.* undecent laughter, and unseemly anger, by reason that hee would froth and slaver at the mouth, and had evermore his nose dropping, his head continually shaking, somewhat stammering in his speech.

He was inhumane towards strangers, and made an Edict forbidding all strangers, *Romanorum gentilitia nomina ferre*, to be called by the Roman names. *Sueton.*

He commanded all Jewes to depart from *Rome*, Acts 18. 2.

The Jewes (saith *Suetonius*) who by instigation of one * *Chrestus*, were evermore tumultuous, he banished *Rome*.

*This some think is to be understood of Christians, whom we find in the Ecclesiasticall writers to be misnamed by the Ethnick Infidels Chrestians, like as Christ himself *Chrestus* in scorn.

*Acts* 11.28. there is mention made of a great Dearth throughout all the World, which came to passe in the dayes of *Claudius Cæsar*, of which famine *Eusebius*, * *Iosephus*, * *Tacitus*, and *Suetonius* likewise speak.

* Lib. 20. Antiq. c. 2.

* Lib. 12. of his Annals.

There was a woman that would not acknowledge her own son, and when by evidences and arguments alledged *pro & contra* on both sides, the question rested in equall ballance doubtfull, he awarded that she should be wedded to the young man; and so forced her to confesse the truth, and to take him for her child.

One cryed out upon a forger of writings, and required that both his hands might be cut off; he made no more ado, but forth-

*Sueton.*

with

with called instantly to have the Hangman sent for, with his chopping-knife and Butchers block to do the deed.

The Lawyers were wont to abuse his Patience so much, that as he was going down from the Judgement Seat, they would not only call upon him to come back again, but also take hold of his Gown-lappet and skirt, yea and some while catch him by the foot, and so hold him still with them: one of the *Gracian* Lawyers pleading before him, in earnest altercation used these words, Καὶ σὺ γέρων εἶ καὶ μωρός, *Et tu senex es & stultus.* Thou art both old and fool besides.

*Claudius invisa privato in tempore vita,*
*In regno specimen prodidit ingenii.*
*Libertina ferens nuptarumque improba facta,*
*Non faciendo nocens, sed patiendo fuit.* Ausonius.

Hee gave this counsell to a libidinous young man, *Si non castè, tamen cautè.* And his Symbole was, *Generis virtus nobilitas.*

He was very forgetfull; when *Messalina* was (by his own commandment) killed, within a while after he asked, *Cur Domina non veniret?* Why his Lady came not to him? Many of those whom he had condemned, the very morrow immediatly after he sent for, to hear him company at dice-play. *Idem plane accidit Herodi Magno, cum uxorem Mariammem occidisset.* Josephus *Orig. lib.* 10. c. 11. Casaubonus.

One of his Guests, who was thought to have closely stollen away a cup of Gold the day before, he re-invited againe the morrow, and then set before him a stone-pot to drink in. Sueton.

It is reported that he meant to set forth Sueton.

an

an Edict, *Quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque ventris in convivio emittendi*, wherein he would give folk leave to break wind downward, and let it go even with a crack at the very board; having certain intelligence, that there was one who for manners and modesty sake, by holding it in endangered his own life.

Hence the Epigramme,

*Edicto vetuit crepitus ructusque teneri*
*Claudius: ô medici Principis Imperium!*

Suetonius. He played at Dice most earnestly, (concerning the Art and skill whereof he published also a little Book) being wont to ply the Game even whiles he was carried up and down, having his Caroch and Dice-board so fitted, as there might be no confusion nor shufling at all in play.

*Erat Naturâ performidolosus.* Aurel. Vict. He was very timorous and pusillanimous at his first coming to the Empire; he durst not for certain dayes go to any feast, without Pensioners standing about him with their Spears and Javelins, and his Souldiers waiting at the table; neither visited he any sick person, unlesse the Bed-chamber where the party lay was first searched: He would scarce suffer Attendants and Clarkes to carry their Pen-sheaths, and Pen-knife-cases.

Sueton. He concealed not his foolishnesse, but gave it out, and protested in certain short Orations, that he counterfeited himself a fool for the nonce during *Caius* dayes, because otherwise he should not have escaped, nor attained to the Imperiall place which he

he aimed at, and was then entred upon.

He sailed beyond Britain, and subdued the Orcades, added them to the Roman Empire, and called his Sons name, * *Britannicus.*

*Claudius Cæsar tumultuantem Britanniam perdomuit, ab eo Claudiocestrium oppidum, quod nunc Glocestrium dicunt.*

* Eutropius.

*He* was not uneloquent, nor unlearned, but was rather a great student in the Liberall Sciences. *Hee* wrote *Histories*, *Livie* being his Tutor. He had good skill in the Greek Tongue, professing as any occasion was offered, his affectionate love to it, and the excellency thereof. When a certain Barbarian discoursed in Greek and Latine; *See you be skilfull* (quoth he) *in both our Languages.*

*Utroque sermone nostro sis peritus.*

It was generally thought that he was killed by poison; and it was a just Judgement of God upon him, for hee was so gluttonous and insatiable in eating and drinking, that he thought no time or place sufficient thereto; and ever did eat so much, that most commonly surfeiting, he used Vomits to discharge his stomack, putting a feather into his throat; in which feather some Authors affirm that poison was given him.

Others say, *Agrippina* his wife tempered the poison in the meat which he most delighted in. *viz* a Mushrome. *Infusum delectabili cibo boletorum venenum.* Tacit. Annal. *Boletum medicatum avidissimo ciborum talium obtulit.* Sueton. Whence Martial. *Boletum, qualem Claudius edit, edas.*

The Virgin *Mary* dyed in his time, in the 59. year of her age, saith *Nicephorus.*

*He* lived 64. yeares, say some: 63. yeares, 2. months, and 13. dayes, saith *Casaubon.*

13. yeares, 9. moneths, and 7. daies, ſaith *Tertul.*

He reigned 13. yeares, 8. moneths, and 20. dayes, ſay *Dio*, and *Joſephus*. He reigned 14. yeares, according to *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, *Clem. Alexand. Eutrop. Oroſius*. 13. yeares 8. moneths, and 20. dayes after *Euſebius*. 14. yeares, 7. moneths, and 28. dayes after *Beda*. But the whole time of his reigne was 13. yeares, 8. moneths, and 20. dayes. They which do give unto him 14. yeares, doe count the odde moneths for a whole year.

Doct. Willet.

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*Choyce*

# *Choyce Observations*

## OF

# NERO CÆSAR.

NERO was a proper Name (which noted Vertue and Fortitude, of that Greek word νηρὸς the sinews, being the conjunction and strength of the members) and such persons also were of the Romans called *Neroes*, as excelled others in the most egregious Fortitude and Noble Vertues. Afterward when this Tyrant *Nero* (who descended of the *Claudii* which were *Sabines*) had degenerated from all the Heroicall vertues of his Ancestors, and became so bloody and cruell, hee gave occasion to posterity to change that proper name into a name Appellative, so that they called them that were cruell *Nerones*, and those that were more cruell *Neroniores*. Alex. *ab* Alex. *Gen. dier.* l. 1. c. 9. Gell. l. 11.

When *Domitius* his friends by way of gratulation wished him joy of his Son new born, he said, That of himself and *Agrippina* there could nothing come into the world but accursed, detestable, and to the hurt of the weal Publick. Suetonius. *Mali corvi malum ovum.* See the like of Tiberius, and of Caligula in *Suetonius*, c. 11.

Of stature he was indifferent, within a little of 6. foot; his body full of speckles,

and freckles, and foul of skin beſides. The haire of his head ſomewhat yellow, his countenance and viſage rather faire then lovely, and well-favoured. His eyes gray and dimme, his neck full and fat, his body bearing out, and his legges ſlender and ſmall.

He began his reigne with a glorious ſhew of piety and kindneſſe. Thoſe Tributes and Taxes which were any thing heavy, he either quite aboliſhed or abated. Whenſoever he was put in mind to ſubſcribe, and ſet his hand to a warrant for the execution of any perſon condemned to dye, he would ſay, *Quàm vellem neſcire literas!* O that I knew not one letter of the book! *Seneca* his Tutor did much extoll that ſpeech of his, as if it had proceeded from a pitifull heart.

Suetonius.

*Lib. 2. de Clementia.*

He was framed by Nature, and practiſed by cuſtome (ſaith *Tacitus*) to cloake hatred with flattering ſpeeches.

*Factum Natura, & conſuetudine exercitus velare odium fallacibus blanditiis.* Tacit. *Annal.* 14. Sueton. *Imitatur illam Auguſti vocem, ſi merebuntur.*

Many times he ſaluted all the degrees of the City one after another, by rote and without book. When the Senate upon a time gave him thankes, he anſwered, *Cùm meruero*, do ſo when I ſhall deſerve.

His *quinquennium* or firſt five yeares were ſuch, that *Trajan* himſelf is ſaid to have admired, uſing this ſpeech, *Procul differre cunctos Principes Neronis quinquennio.* But it is thought that it was rather the reigne of his Governours *Seneca* and *Burrhus*, then properly his.

Aurel. Vict.

*Suetonius.*

He delighted exceedingly in Muſick, and would

would shew his skill upon the open stage, often using the Greek Proverb, *That hidden Musick was nought worth.* All the while he was singing, it was not lawfull for any person to depart out of the Theatre, were the cause never so necessary. It is reported, that some great-bellied woman falling into travail, were delivered upon the very Scaffolds; yea, and many men besides weary of tedious hearing, and praysing him, when the Town gates were shut, either by stealth lept down from the Walles, or counterfeiting themselves dead, were carried forth as Coarses to be buried. But how timorously, with what thought and anguish of mind, with what emulation of his concurrents, and fear of the Umpires he strove for Mastery, it is almost incredible. He never durst once spit, and reach up flegm, and he wiped away the very sweat of his forehead with his arm onely. *Suetonius.*

He not onely commanded all the Statues and Images of the most excellent Musitians to be defaced, and his own to be erected in lieu of them; but also put many of them under hand to death, by emulation of their fame. *Sueton. & Bapt. Fulg. l. 8.*

There was a boy named *Sporus*, whose genitories he cut off, and assayed thereby to transform him into the nature of a woman: then he caused him to be brought unto him, as a Bride without a dowry, in a fine yellow vaile after the solemn manner of Marriage, not without a goodly traine attending upon him, whom he maintained as a wife; whereupon one brake this witty jest, *That it would have been happy for the world, if* Domitius *(his Father) had wedded such a wife.* Sueton.

He said jestingly of *Claudius*, That he

left *morari inter homines*, with a long syllable, meaning that he spent his dayes foolishly.

*Epulas à medio die ad mediam noctem protrahebat.*

He held out his Feasts from noon-day till mid-night.

Suetonius. * *Divitiarum ac pecuniæ fructum non alium putabat quàm profusionem.* Sueton. *Nero quadragenis in punctum Sestertiis aleam lusit.* Cæl. Rhod. *l.* 20. *c.* 24. Suetonius. *Bis & vicies mille sestertium donationibus Nero effuderat.* Tacit. *l.* 1. *Hist. c.* 6. He most lavishly gave away two and twenty hundred millions of Sesterces. *See *Sueton.* and *Tacitus*

* *He* was very profuse and prodigall in expences, he never put on the same Garment twice; when he played at hazard, he ventered no lesse then 3125. pounds at a cast, upon every point or prick of the chance. *He* fished with a golden Net, drawn and knit with cords twisted of purple, and crimson silk in grain. When he made any journey, he never had under 1000. Caroches in his train, his Mules were shod with silver, but in no one thing was he more wastful then in building. **His* house was so large that it contained three Galleries of a mile a piece in length, and a standing Poole like unto a Sea, and the same inclosed round about with buildings in form of Cities. It was laid all over with gold, garnished with precious stones, and mother of pearl. *He* said, *He now at length began to live like a man*: and himself named it, *Domum auream*, a golden house. *His* Mother *Agrippina* being

of this house, Annal 15. c. 10. It is reported also of *Heliogabalus*, that his apparell was rich, and most extreme costly, and yet he would never wear one garment twice; his shooes were embellished with Pearles and Diamonds; his seat strewed with musk and amber; his bed covered with gold and purple, and beset with most costly jewels; his way strewed with the powder of gold and silver; his vessels (even of baset use) all gold; his diet so profuse, that at every supper in his Court was usually spent 1000. l. sterling.

with

with Child with him, went to consult with the Chaldeans or South-sayers about her Son; they answered her, That he should reigne, but kill his Mother; but she being very ambitious slighted that, saying, *Occidat modò imperet*, Let him kill mee so he may be King.

This was accomplished afterwards, for he caused his Mother to be murdered, and not onely so, but (which was more horrible) he took an axact view of her dead body, and beheld it Crowner-like, saying, *He did not think he had had so faire a Mother.*

*Neque tam n sceleris conscientiam, aut statim aut unquam post ferre potuit; sæpe confessus exagitari se materna specie, verberibus furiarum, ac tædis ardentibus.* Suetonius.

His Father he poisoned, he slew his Brother *Germanicus*, and his Sister *Antonia*, and both his wives *Poppæa* and *Octavia*, his Aunt *Domitia*, his son in law *Rufinus*, and his Instructers, *Seneca* and *Lucan*.

Eutropius. Suoton. Aurel. Vict.

There was no kind of affinity, and consanguinity, were it never so near, but it felt the weight of his deadly hands.

Orosius.

The first persecution was under him in the 13. year of his reigne. *Tertullian* calls him, *Dedicator damnationis nostræ, i. e.* the first that made a Law to condemne Christians to death.

* *In Apologet. cap. 5. Nero ex Cæsaribus primus in Christianos direxit gladium.*

* *Tertullian*, * *Eusebius*, * *Lactantius*, * and others say, that he put *Peter* and *Paul* to death.

* *Hist Eccles. l. 2. c. 25.* * *L. 14. de vera Sap. c. 21.* * *Aret. Probl. Pet du Moul.* Def. of the Cathol. Faith. *Ll. ubi supra.*

*Paulus à Nerone* (saith Eusebius) *Romæ capite truncatus, & Petrus palo affixus scribuntur; & Historiæ huic fidem facit, quod illic cœmiteria habentur in quibus Petri & Pauli nuncupatio ad hunc usque diem obtinet.*

*Chryſ.* and *Theophyl.* upon the fourth Chapter of the ſecond to *Timothy*, alledge this to be the cauſe wherefore he put *Paul* to death, becauſe *Paul* had converted to the Chriſtian Faith *Nero's* Butler, whom he made great account of, thereupon he commanded him to be beheaded; others ſay, it was becaule he converted one of *Nero* his Concubines, which afterward refuſed to company with him; but we need aſſigne no other cauſe of *Nero's* rage againſt the Apoſtle, then that which *Euſebius* and *Jerome* both do touch, the cruelty of that bloody Tyrant joyned with a wicked deteſtation of the Chriſtian Faith.

Though *Nero* were ſo wicked, yet *Paul* maketh mention of ſome Saints in his Court. Phil 4 22.

His cruelty is by *Paul* compared to the mouth of a Lion, 2 *Tim.* 4. 17. but here then ariſeth an objection, how *Paul* ſhould ſuffer under him, when he ſaith there, that he was delivered? Therefore *Paul* was his priſoner twice, he was ſet at liberty after his firſt impriſonment at *Rome*, *Phil.* 1. 25. *Philem.* 22. *Heb.* 13. 23. 2 *Tim.* 4. 16. 17. The reaſon is thus alledged by *Euſebius*; *Neronem in principio Imperii mitiorem fuiſſe*, That *Nero* in the beginning of his Empire was more gentle, and mild, but afterward when *Paul* was taken again, *Nero* then being become a moſt cruell Tyrant, cauſed him to be put to death. He dyed in the 14. year of *Nero's* reigne, and the 37. year after the Paſſion of Chriſt.

Euſeb. *in Chron. & Hieron. lib. de Script. Eccleſ.*

*Seneca* diſſwaded him from killing ſome, with this ſpeech, *licet* (ſaith he) *quam plurimos*

*rimos occidas, tamen non potes succeſſorem tuum occidere. Xiphiline.* Although thou killeſt very many, yet thou canſt not kill thy Succeſſor.

The Tyrannous rage of this Emperour was ſo fierce againſt the Chriſtians (as *Euſebius* reporteth) *uſq; adeò ut videret repletas humanis corporibus civitates, jacentes mortuos ſimul cum parvulis ſenes, fœminarumque abſque ulla ſexus reverentia in publico rejecta ſtarent cadavera, i. e.* Inſomuch that a man might then ſee Cities lye full of mens bodies, the old lying there with the young, and the dead bodies of women caſt out naked, without all reverence of that Sex, in the open ſtreets.

*Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 4. 25. 26. Nero ſubdidit reos, & quæſitiſſimis pœnis affecit eos, quos per flagitia inviſos, vulgus Chriſtianos appellabat; Auctor ejus nominis Chriſtus.* Tacit. 15. *Annal.*

In this perſecution alſo *James* the greater, and the leſſe, *Philip, Bartholomew, Barnabas, Mark,* ſuffered.

Chriſtians were covered in wild beaſts skins, and torn in pieces with Dogs, or faſtned on croſſes, or burnt in fire; and when the day failed, they were burnt in the night, to make them ſerve as torches to give light. They put a pitched coat upon the Chriſtians to make them burn the better, called *Tunica moleſta*, a troubleſome coat.

*Addita pereuntibus ludibria, ut ferarum tergoribus contecti, canum laniatu interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi; & ubi dies defeciſſet, in uſum nocturni luminis urerentur.* Tacit. *l.* 15. *Annal.* Sueton. *in Claud.*

*Sulpitius Severus* obſerves this of *Nero* (in the 3. book of his Hiſtory) *that it was his own bad life which made him hate Chriſtians*; for he ſtill thought they cenſured him, and could not but expect what they knew he deſerved.

He

He caused *Rome* to be set on fire in twelve places together, that he might the better conceive the flames of *Troy*, singing unto it *Homer's* verses, and being a pleasant Spectator thereof, as at a *Feu-de-joy*. *Ad levandam sceleris atrocitatem* (saith *Polyd.* * *Virgil*) to avoyd the infamy thereof, he laid the fault on the innocent, and suborned some falsly to accuse the Christians, as Authors of that fire; whereupon hee put many of them to death: but *Tacitus* will clear them, who yet was their enemy. *Non perinde* (saith hee) *crimine incendii, quàm odio humani generis convicti sunt.*

*Suetonius* (being no Christian) calleth the Christians men of new and pernicious superstition: *Afflicti suppliciis Christiani,* (saith he) *genus hominum superstitionis novæ & maleficæ.*

Under *Nero* to do ill was not alwaies safe, alwaies unsafe to do well. He was so hatefull an adversary to all righteousnesse, that *Eusebius* following the example and words of *Tertullian*, affirmeth, that if the Gospel had not been an excellent thing, it had not been condemned by *Nero*. He was (as *Augustine** witnesseth) commonly reputed Antichrist. He came into the world an *Agrippa*, or born with his feet forward, and turn'd the world upside down before he went out of it. In him alone all the corruptions which had been ingendred in *Rome*, from the birth of *Rome* till his own daies, seemed drawn together into one impostume or boyl. When

* Lib. 8. *de invent rerum* cap. 6. *Tacitus* calleth them, hated for their wickednesse, guilty, and worthy of utmost punishment, and their Religion a pestilent & pernicious superstition. See 15. of his Annal. 10 c.

*Sub Nerone fœva & infesta Virtutibus tempora. Non nisi grande aliquod bonum à Neronis damnatum.* Tertul. *Apol. adversus Gentes. Nero virtutem ipsam exscindere concupivit.* Tacit. Annal. l. 16.

* Lib. 20. c. 19. *De Civit. Dei.* In his time *Annos retrò fluere visi sunt.* Plin. l. 2. c. 103.

When one in common talk upon a time chanced to say,

Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί.

*When vitall breath is fled from me,*
*Let earth with fire mingled be.* Sueton.

Nay rather, quoth hee, ἐμοῦ ζῶντος, *whiles vitall spirit remaines in me.*

He had a desire (though it were foolish and inconsiderate) of eternity and perpetuall fame, and therefore abolishing the old names of many things and places, he did put upon them new after his own. He called the Moneth April *Neronew*, he meant also to have named *Rome Neropolis*, Nero's City.

*Erat ei æternitatis perpetuæque famæ cupido sed inconsulta.* Suetonius.

Which thing in him *Commodus* the Emperour imitated, calling Rome *Commodiana* *Tacit.* l. 13. of Annal.

He pronounced an oration composed by *Seneca*: It was observed, that he was the first Emperour that needed another mans Eloquence; for *Julius Cæsar* was equall with the famous Orators; and *Augustus* had a ready, fluent, and eloquent speech, such as well became a Prince; *Tiberius* had great skill in weighing his words; yea, *Caligula's* troubled mind hindered not his eloquence; neither wanted *Claudius* elegancy, when he had premeditated.

The study of *Nero* was Versification, which *Tacitus* thinks he borrowed, having no gift therein at all; but *Suetonius* (who often doth disagree with *Tacitus*, though unnamed) both proves he had, and proves it well: It was one of his exercises to translate Greek Tragedies into Latine, who made true Tragedies in blood, such as even the Greekes never feigned.

*Post Tacitum scripsit, eumque interdum tacitè redarguit.* Famia. Strad. *Prælus. Hist. l.* 1.

Nothing

Being admonished by Astrologers that he should once be cast out of the Empire, he is reported to have used this speech to himself, *Artem quæ vis terra alis; nimirum intelligens citharisticam, principi gratam, privato necessariam, quam exercere eum non puduit.*

Nothing netled him more then when he was blamed by *Vindex* for an unskilfull Musician: he said of himself a little before his death, *Qualis Artifex pereo?* What an excellent Artisan do I dye? meaning of his skill in playing of Tragedies; as indeed his whole life and death was all but one Tragedy.

*Vespasian* asked *Apollonius*, *what was Nero's overthrow?* he answered, *Nero could touch and tune the Harp well, but in Government sometimes he used to winde the pinnes too high, and sometimes to let them down too low;* thereby intimating, that he applyed Corrosives where gentle Lenitives would have served the turn, and again he applyed Lenitives where Corrosives were needfull.

*Additum nomine Neronis Donativum Militi, congiarium plebi.* Tacit. 12. *Annal.*

*Deductus* (Nero) *in forum tyro, populo congiarium, Militi Donativum proposuit.* Sueton. *Imperatoris munus quod populo datur, congiarium dictum est, quod verò Militibus, Donativum.* Alex. ab Alex. *Gen. dier. l. 5. cap. 24.*

The Princes liberalities to the Souldiers were called *Donativa*, (which they bestowed upon some great victory, or rather extraordinary occasion;) to the people, or otherwise to his friends, *Congiaria*; doubtlesse because at the first certain measures called *Congii*, of wine or oyl were bestowed, and afterwards other things were given, yet the ancient name remained.

*Vindex* first stirred the stone, which rowling tumbled *Nero* out of his seat.

Sir *Henry Savil* on *Tacit. Nec adhuc erat damnati Principis*

When it was told *Iulius Vindex*, that *Nero* by publick Edict had prized his head at 10000. thousand Sesterces, (that is above four-score thousand pounds in our coine,)

Well,

Well, quoth he again, and he that kils *Nero*, and brings me his head, shall have mine in exchange. *Qui Neronem interfecerit, & ad me caput ejus attulerit, is meum accipiet caput in mercedis loco.* Xiphilin.

*Nero* consulting the Delphick (or rather divellish) Oracle, he received this answer, That he should take heed of the year 73. which he supposing to be meant of his own age, rested secure, being farre short of it; but he was deluded by the ambiguous construction of those words, and so fell into the hands of *Galba*, a man indeed of those yeares.

At last the Senate proclaiming him a publick enemy unto Mankind, condemned him to be drawn through the City, and to be whipped to death; which sentence when he heard of, finding no man to strike him, and exclaiming against them all, *What, have I neither friend nor foe?* (said he) *I have lived dishonourably, let me dye shamefully*; and then he strake himself through with his own sword, and was a horrible spectacle to all beholders.

He dyed in the 32. year of his age, saith *Suetonius*; and 14. year of his reigne, say *Tacitus*, *Clem. Alexand.* *Eusebius*, and *Eutropius*, the very day of the year on which he had murdered his wife *Octavia*; and by his death brought so great joy unto the people generally, that the Commons wore caps to testifie their freedom recovered, and ran sporting up and down throughout the City.

Some

*exemplum*, Neither was there ever before a President of any Prince by publick sentence deposed. *Tacit.* l. 1. Hist.

*Sueton.* He entreated that some one of those that were with him, would kill himself first, and by his example help him to take his death. *Itaque nec amicum habeo nec inimicum; dedecoroſe vixi, turpiùs peream.* Aurel. Vict. *Defecitque extantibus rigentibuſq; oculis, ad horrorem formidinemque viſentium.* Sueton.

Some say that *Nero* is yet alive (saith *Baronius* out of *Sueton.* and *Severus*) although he did thrust himself through with a sword, yet some think that his wounds were healed, and that he survived according to that in the *Rev.* 13. 3. and that he shall be Antichrist; but *Bellarmine* himself saith, It is a presumptuous folly to say that *Nero* shall be revived and received as Antichrist; and *Suarez* calls it, *Anilem fabulam*, a foolish Fable.

*Vide* Boxhornii *Hist. Univers. à Christi tempore. p.* 125. 126. 127.

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*Choyce*

# *Choyce Obſervations*

## OF

# SULPITIUS GALBA.

SOme think his name *Galba* came by occaſion of a Town in *Spain*, which after it had been a long time in vain aſſaulted, he at length ſet on fire with burning brands beſmeared all over with *Galbanum*: others, becauſe in a long ſickneſſe which he had, he uſed continually *Galbeum*, i. e. *remedies* lapped in wooll: ſome again becauſe he ſeemed very fat, and ſuch a one the *French* doth name *Galba*: or contrariwiſe becauſe he was ſlender, as certain little wormes are called *Galbæ*. Sueton.

He ſucceeded *Nero*, and his age being much deſpiſed, there was great licentiouſneſſe and confuſion; whereupon a Senatour ſaid in full Senate, *It were better to live where nothing is lawfull, then where all things are lawfull.* *Ipſo ætas Galbæ & irriſui & faſtidio erat aſſuetis juventæ Neronis, & Imperatores formâ ac decore corporis (ut eſt mos vulgi) comparantibus.* Tacit. *l.* 1. *Hiſt.*

He was of full ſtature, his head bald, his eyes gray, and his noſe hooked; his hands and feet by reaſon of the Gout exceeding crooked, in ſo much as he was not able to abide ſhooes on the one, or to hold his Bookes with the other. *Statura fuit juſta, capite præcalvo, oculis cæruleis, aduncо naſo, manibus pedibuſq; articulari morbo diſſartiſſimis: ut neq; calceum perpeti, neque libellos evolvere aut tenere omninò valeret.* Suetonius. *Ingenium Galbæ malè habitat.*

There

There was an excrescence, or bunch of flesh in the right side of his body, and it hung downward so much, as it could hardly be tyed up with a truss or swathing band; yet hee had a good wit, though a deformed body, like a good instrument in a bad case.

Being with generall applause, and great good liking placed in state, he behaved himself under expectation, and though in most points he shewed himself a vertuous Prince, yet his good Acts were not so memorable, as those were odious and displeasant wherein he did amisse.

*Suetonius.* Sir *Henry Savill on* Tacit.

He obtained the Empire with greater favour and authority then he mannaged it when he was therein; so that he overcame *Nero* by his good name, and the good opinion men had of him, and not through his own force and power.

*Plutarch.*

*Tacitus*, l. 1. Hist. *Major privato visus dum privatus fuit, & omnium consensu capax Imperii nisi imperâsset.* He seemed more then a private man whilest he was private, and by all mens opinions capable of the Empire, had he never been Emperour.

*Ausson.* Epigr. *Spem frustrate senex, privatus sceptra mereri*
*Visus es, Imperio proditus inferior:*
*Fama tibi melior juveni, sed justior ordo est,*
*Complacuisse dehinc, displicuisse prius.*

*Tacitus*, l. 1. Hist. He lived in honourable fame and estimation in the reigne of five Emperours, *Alieno Imperio felicior quàm suo.* He was in greater prosperity, and lived more happily under

under the Empire of others then in his own. His houſe was of ancient Nobility, and great wealth. He neither neglected his fame, nor yet was ambitiouſly careſull of it: of other mens money he was not greedy, ſparing of his own, of the common a Niggard.

*Famæ nec incuriaſus, nec venditator: Pecuniæ alienæ non appetens, ſuæ parcus, publicæ avarus.* Tacitus. *l.* 1. *Hiſt.* *Suetonius.* *Plutarch.* *Aurel. Vict.* *Eutropius.*

As he ſacrificed within a publick Temple, a Boy among other Miniſters holding the Cenſer, ſuddenly had all the haire of his head turned gray. Some made this Interpretation of it, that thereby was ſignified a change in the State, and that an old man ſhould ſucceed a young, even himſelfe in *Nero's* ſtead.

He was of a middle temperature, neither to be admired nor contemned; *Magis extra vitia, quàm cum virtutibus*, rather void of ill parts, then furniſhed with good.

*Tacitus l.* 1. *Hiſt.* The ſame ſaith *Hayward* of our *Henry* the fourth.

In the Palace, *Julius Atticus*, one of the Billmen met him, holding out a bloody ſword in his hand, with which, he cryed aloud, he had ſlain *Otho*; *My friend*, quoth Galba, *who bad thee?* A man of rare vertue (ſaith *Tacitus*) to keep in awe a licentious Souldier; whom neither threats could terrifie, nor flattering ſpeech corrupt and abuſe: thence it was a uſuall ſpeech through the Camp;

*Huius breve Imperium fuit, & quod bona haberet exordia, niſi ad ſeveritatem promptior videretur.* Eutropius.

*Diſce Miles militare,*
*Galba eſt, non Getulicus.*
*Learne Souldiers ſervice valorous,*
*Galba is here, and not Getulicus.*

For eight yeares ſpace (before hee was Emperour) hee governed a Province of

*Spain* variably, and with an uneven hand, at first sharp, severe, violent, afterward he grew to be slothfull, careless, idle.

The Delinquent pleaded that he was a Roman Citizen, and therefore not to be crucified.

Being intreated for a Gentleman condemned, that he might not dye the death of ordinary Malefactors, he commanded that the Gallowes should be *dealbata*, whited, or coloured for him; *Quasi solatio & honore pœnam levaturus*, as if the painted Gibbet might adde solace and honour to his Death.

When there was question made of an heifer before him, whose it should be, arguments and witnesses being brought on both sides; he so decreed it, that she should be led with her head covered to the place where she was wont to be watered, and there being uncovered, he judged her his, to whom she went of her own accord.

Among the liberall Sciences he gave himself to the study of the Civil Law.

*Laudata olim, & militari fama celebrata severitas ejus angebat coasper-nantes veterem disciplinam, atque ita 14. annis à Nerone assuefactos, ut haud minus vitia Principum amarent, quàm olim virtutes verebantur.* Tacit. *l.* 1. *Hist.*

*He* cryed to his Souldiers, *Ego vester, & vos mei*; I am wholly devoted unto you, and you are wholly devoted unto me.

His severity which was wont to be highly commended by the voice of the Souldiers, was now displeasant to them who were generally weary of the ancient Discipline, and so trained up by *Nero* 14. yeares, that now they loved their Emperours no lesse for their vices, then once they reverenced them for their vertues.

His hardnesse toward his Souldiers caused him to fall; for a large Donative being promised

miſed to them in *Galba's* name, and they requiring if not ſo much, yet ſo much at leaſt as they were wont to receive, he wholly refuſed the ſuit, adding withall, *Legi à ſe militem, non emi*, That his manner had ever been to chooſe, and not to buy his ſouldiers. Cornel. Tacitus. *l.* 1. *Hiſt.*

*Vox pro Republica honeſta, ipſi anceps*; A ſaying no doubt fit for a great Prince in a more vertuous age, not ſo in thoſe ſeaſons for him, who ſuffered himſelf to be ſold every houre, and abuſed to all purpoſes. Tacit. *l.* 1. *Hiſt.*

*He* was killed by the wiles of *Otho*, in the Market-place; the Souldiers flying upon him, and giving him many wounds, he held out his Neck unto them, and bade them ſtrike hardily, if it were to do their Country good. *Eutropius.* *Plutarch.*

*He* dyed in the 73. year of his age, and ſeventh moneth of his Empire. *Suetonius.* *Eutropius.*

*He* reigned ſeven moneths, and ſo many dayes. *Aurel. Vict.* 7. Months, 6. dayes, *Tertul.* 7. Months 2. dayes, *Euſebius.*

# Choyce Obſervations OF SALVIVS OTHO.

TAcitus and *Suetonius* obſerve, that his Father was ſo like unto *Tiberius*, that moſt men held him to be his own Son.

Sueton. *Tam non abſimilis facie Tiberio principi fuit, ut plerique procreatum ex eo crederent.*

He was of a mean and low ſtature, he had feeble feet, and crooked ſhankes. He wore by reaſon of his thinne hair a perruck or counterfeit cap of falſe hair, ſo fitted and faſtened to his head, that any man would have taken it for his own. He was wont to ſhave, and beſmear his face every day all over with ſoaked bread; this bread was made of Bean and Rice flower, of the fineſt Wheat alſo; a Depilatory to keep hair from growing, eſpecially being wet and ſoaked in ſome juyce or liquor appropriate thereto, as the blood of Bats, Froggs, or the Tunie-fiſh: to this effeminacy of *Otho* alludeth the Satyricall Poet in this Verſe,

*Galericulus capiti propter raritatem capillorum adaptatus.* Sueton.

Juvenal. *Et preſſum in faciem digitis extendere panem.*

Which deviſe he took to at firſt, when the

the down began to bud forth, becauſe he would never have a beard.

He was of a noble houſe (ſaith *Plutarch*), but ever given to ſenſuality and pleaſure from his Cradle: inſomuch as his Father ſwinged him and ſoundly for it. He uſed night-walking, and as he met any one either feeble or cupſhotten, hee would catch hold of him, lay him upon a Souldiers Gabardine, and ſo toſſe and hoiſt him up in the Aire. His Mothers ſide was more noble then his Fathers. *Vita omni turpis, maximè adoleſcentiâ.* Aurel. Vict. Suetonius.

*Pueritiam incurioſè, adoleſcentiam petulanter egerat.* He ſpent his tender yeares without regard of his honour, his youth afterwards in all diſſolute diſorder. *Tacit.* l. 1. Hiſt.

*He* repaired often to his Glaſſe to ſee his face, that he might keep it clean. Suetonius.

He was one of *Nero's* chief Minions and Favourites, ſuch was the congruence of their humours and diſpoſitions. *Similitudo morum parit amicitiam*, likeneſſe is the cauſe of liking.

*Gratus Neroni æmulatione luxus.*

He was in grace with *Nero* through emulation of vice. *Tacit.* l. 1. Hiſt.

*Neroni criminoſè familiaris*, He was ſinfully familiar with *Nero*. He was privie and party to all his Counſels and ſecret deſignes; to avert all manner of ſuſpicion, that very day which *Nero* had appointed for the murthering of his Mother, he entertained them both at ſupper with moſt exquiſite Dainties, and the kindeſt welcome that might be. *Aurel. Vict. Otho flagrantiſſimus in amicitia Neronis habebatur.* Tacit. *Annal.* l. 13. Sueton.

He ſubſcribed *Nero's* name unto his Letters Patents, till the Noble men of *Rome* miſliked it. Suetonius. Plutarch.

*Fruſtrà moritur Nero, ſi Otho vivit.*

He ſtrove by gifts, and all other meanes to oblige the Souldiers unto him before he was Emperour, and to winne their hearts by fair promiſes; he proteſted before them all aſſembled together, that himſelf would have and hold no more then juſt that which they would leave for him. One calleth him the Roman *Abſalom.*

*Cui uni apud Militem fides, dum & ipſe non niſi Multibus credit.* The Souldiers onely truſted him, becauſe he truſted none elſe.

All of them together put up a petition to him, and beſought him to command their perſons, whileſt they had one drop of blood leſt in their bodies to do him ſervice. But amongſt others, there was a poor Souldier drawing out his ſword, ſaid unto him, Know, O *Cæſar*, that all my Companions are determined to dye in this ſort for thee, and ſo ſlew himſelf.

*Rebus proſperis incertus, & inter adverſa melior.*

A man in proſperity uncertainly carried, and governing himſelf in adverſity.

*Duo omnium mortalium impudicitiâ, ignaviâ, luxuriâ deterrimi, velut ad perdendum Imperium fataliter electi*, ſaith *Tacitus* of *Otho* and *Vitellius.*

Two of all mortall men the moſt deteſtable creatures in ſlothfulneſſe, incontinency, and waſtfull life, fatally elected to ruine the Empire.

But though in the firſt Book of *Tacitus* his

*Tacitus* Hiſt. lib. 1. *Adorare vulgus, facere oſcula, & omnia ſervitiis pro Imperio.*

Tacit. *Hiſt.* l. 1. Hee worſhipped the people, diſpenſed frequently his courteſies and plauſibilities.

crouched and accommodated himſelf to the baſeſt rours, that thereby he might creep into an uſurped honour.

*Tacit.* l. 2. Hiſt.

*Plutarch.*

Tacitus.

*Tacitus.* l. 1. Hiſt.

his History they are both compared as like, in opposition to a good Prince; yet in his second book they are opposed the one to the other as unlike, with notes of distinction. *Vitellii ignavæ voluptates, Othonis flagrantissimæ libidines. Vitellius ventre & gulâ sibi ipsi hostis; Otho luxu, sævitiâ, audaciâ, Reipublicæ exitiosior ducebatur*; of the one side, an ill mind in a man of nothing, and of the other, an ill mind joyned with courage and edge.

*Vitellius* a Drunkard and Glutton, *Otho* a wanton and licentious liver. *Plutarch.*

The drowsie Pleasures of *Vitellius* were feared lesse then the burning lusts of *Otho*. *Vitellius* in excesse of Belly-chear was an enemy to himself; *Otho* in riot, cruelty, audaciousnesse, reputed more dangerous to the state.

It was hard to judge which of them two was most licentiously given, most effeminate, least skilfull, poorer, or most indebted, before he was Emperour. *Plutarch.*

*Magna & misera civitas eodem anno Othonem, Vitelliumque passa.* A great and miserable City, which in the same year supported an *Otho* and a *Vitellius*. *Tacit.* l. 2. Hist.

We may learn by *Otho* (saith Sir *Henry Savil*) that the fortune of a rash man is *Torrenti similis*, which ariseth at an instant, and falls in a moment.

*Alii diutius Imperium tenuerunt, nemo tam fortiter reliquerit*; it was his own speech, Others have kept the Empire longer, none hath ever so valiantly left it. *Tacit.* l. 2. Hist.

*Plura de extremis loqui pars ignavia est.* *Tacit.* l. 2. Hist.

He thought it a part of dastardy to speak too much of death.

*Irent properè, ne remorando iram victoris exasperarent.* Tacit. *Hist. l.* 2.

When he saw his side the weaker and going to the walls, he counselled his Souldiers to provide for their safety by flying them to the winner.

*Plutarch* reporteth the like of *Cato.*

He slew himself with his own hands, but slept so soundly the night before, that the Groomes of his Chamber heard him snort.

*Plutarch. Suetonius. Aurel. Vict.*

Many of his Souldiers who were present about him, when with plentifull teares they had kissed his hands and feet as hee lay dead; and commended him withall for a most valiant man, and the onely Emperour that ever was; presently in the place, and not farre from the funerall fire killed themselves. Many of them also who were absent, hearing of the newes of his end, for very grief of heart ran with their weapons one at another to death.

He lived not much more honestly then *Nero*, but dyed farre more honourably.

Most men who in his life-time cursed and detested him, when hee was dead highly praised him; so as it was a common and rife speech, that *Galba* was by him slain, not so much for that he affected to be Soveraigne Ruler, as because he desired to recover the state of the Republick, and the freedome that was lost.

His saying was, *Melius est unum pro multis, quam pro uno multos mori*; An excellent and worthy speech of an Emperour,

rour, preferring the Publick good before his own private; *Sic imperium quod maximo scelere invaserat, maxima virtute deposuit*, as *Xiphilinus noteth* out of *Dion.*

He dyed but 37. yeares old saith *Plutarch*; 38. say *Eutropius*, and *Suetonius*; and was Emperour but three moneths, *Plutarch*; three moneths and five dayes, *Tertullian*; four moneths, *Aurelius Victor*. He dyed in the 59. day of his Empire, saith *Eutropius*; 95. saith *Suetonius*.

*More suo Tranquillus annum inchoatum pro pleno numerat. Nam alii 37. solum vixisse aiunt. Casaub. Animadvers. Sueton.*

# *Choyce Observations*

## OF

# AVLVS VITELLIVS.

*Familiâ bonoratâ magis quam nobili.* Eutropius.

HE was beyond measure tall; he had a red face, occasioned by swilling in wine, and a great fat paunch besides, and somewhat limped upon one legge, by a hurt formerly received.

He was stained with all manner of reprochable villanies; he was familiar with *Caius* for his love to Chariot-running, and with *Claudius* for his affection to Dice-play, but he was in greater favour with *Nero* for his wicked conditions likewise; for he attended and followed him as he did sing, not by compulsion, as many a good man, but selling his honour to nourish his Riot, and feed his belly, to which he enthralled himself.

He found some supplications that were exhibited unto *Otho*, by such as claimed reward for their good service in killing *Galba*, and gave command that they should be sought out and executed every one. A worthy and magnificent beginning, such as might give good hope of an excellent Prince, had hee not managed all matters else according to his own naturall disposi-

tion,

tion, and the course of his former life, rather then respecting the Majesty of an Emperour.

When hee came into the Fields where a Battel was fought, and some of his train loathed and abhorred the putrified corruption of the dead bodies, he stuck not to hearten and encourage them with this cursed speech, *Optimè olere occisum hostem, & melius civem*, That an enemy slain had a very good smell, but a Citizen far better.

[That was also a wicked speech of *Charles* the ninth of *France*, at the *Parisian* massacre, when beholding the dead carcasses, he said, that the smell of a dead enemy was good.]

He banished from *Rome* and *Italy* all the judiciall Astrologers called Mathematicians, because they had said, that his reigne should not endure one year to an end.

If he could have forborn his riotous living, or used any moderation therein, covetousnesse was a crime in him not to be feared, but he was shamefully given to his belly without all order or measure; *Epularum fœda & inexplebilis libido*, saith *Tacitus*; for which purpose there were daily brought out of *Rome* and *Italy*, *Irritamenta Gulæ*, all provocations of Gluttony. The high-waies from both the Seas founded of nothing else but of Caterers, and Purveyours; the greatest men in the City were spent and consumed in providing of Cates for the banquets; the Cities themselves were wasted.

*Prorsus si luxuriam temperaret, avaritiam non timeret.* Tacit. *l.* 2. *Hist.*

*Homo profundæ gulæ.* Sueton.

*Ad vos deinde transeo, quorum profunda & insatiabilis gula, hinc Maria scrutatur, hinc terras.* Seneca Epist. 89.

The

The Souldiers grew worſe, and degenerated from labour and vertue, partly by turning themſelves to pleaſures, and partly through the contemptibleneſſe of the commander.

5 Saith *Eutropius.*

He would eat four meales a day, Breakfaſt, Dinner, Supper, and Rere-banquet, or after Supper, being able to bear them all very well, he uſed to vomit * ſo ordinarily. His manner was to ſend word that hee would break his faſt with one friend, dine with another, and all in one day; and every one of thoſe refections when it ſtood them leaſt, coſt 3235. l. ſterling. But the moſt notorious and memorable ſupper above all other, was that which his brother made for a welcome at his firſt coming to *Rome*; at which were ſerved up at the Table before him two thouſand ſeverall Diſhes of Fiſh, the moſt dainty and choyceſt that could be had, and ſeven thouſand fowl.

* It was an ordinary practiſe among thē. *Epulas quas toto orbe conquirunt nec concoquere dignantur.* Seneca.

*Suetonius* calls it an Adventitious Supper.

Eutropius. Sueto.

Yet himſelf ſurpaſſed this ſumptuous feaſt at the dedication of the platter, which for its huge capacity he uſed to call the *Target of Minerva.* In this he blended together the Livers of Guilt-heads, the delicate braines of Pheaſants and Peacocks, the tongues of Phœnicopters, the tender ſmall guts of Sea-Lampries ſent as far as from the Carpathian Sea, and the ſtraights of *Spain*, by his Captaines over Gallies.

His meates were not touched in groſſe, but an eye only of this bird, or a tongue of that Fish were taſted, that the ſpoiles of many might be taken at one meal.

*Phœnicopterus* is a water fowl haunting lakes and fennes, and the river *Nilus*, as *Heſiodus* writeth. The feathers be of colour red, ot purple, where of it taketh the name, & the tongue is a moſt dainty & pleaſant morſell.

For

For the making of this charger there was a furnace built of purpose in the field. *Mucianus* (after the death of *Vitellius*) alluding to this monstrous platter, and ripping up his whole life, upbraided the memoriall of him in these very termes, calling his excesse that way, *Patinarum paludes*, Platters as broad as Pooles or Ponds.

*Nunquam ita ad curas intentus, ut voluptatis oblivisceretur.* He was never so intentively addicted to serious affaires, that he would forget his Pastimes. Tacitus l. 2. Hist.

In his Traine all was disorderly and full of drunkennesse, more like to Wakes and Feasts of *Bacchus*, then to a Camp, where Discipline should be. *Apud Vitellium omnia indisposita, tumultu, pervigiliis ac Bacchanalibus, quam disciplinæ & castris propiora.*

He was forward enough to put to death any man; he killed Noble men, and his School-fellowes. He delivered *Blæsus* over to the executioner to suffer death, but straightwaies called him back again; and when all that were by praised him for his Clemency, he commanded the said party to be killed before his face, saying withall, *Velle se pascere oculos*, that he would feed his eyes with seeing his death. At the execution of another he caused two of his Sonnes to bear him company, because they presumed to intreat for their Fathers sake. Tacit. *Hist.* l. 2. *Iste mente crudelis avaruſque cum profusione.* Aurel. Vict. *Audita est sevissima Vitellii vox, quâ se pavisse oculos spectata inimici morte jactavit.* Tacit. *Hist.* l. 3.

A Gentleman of *Rome* being haled away to take his death, he cryed aloud unto him, Sir, I have made you my heire; then he compelled him to bring forth his writing-Tables concerning his last Will, and Sueton.

so

ſo ſoon as he read therein, that a freed man of the Teſtators was nominated fellow-heir with him, he commanded both Maſter and Man to be killed.

He was ſuſpected alſo to have conſented to his own Mothers death.

*Impar curis gravioribus*, ſaith *Tacitus* of him, he was unmeet to weild weighty affaires.

The Empire was conferred upon him by thoſe which knew him not, and yet never man found ſo conſtant good will of his Souldiers by vertuous meanes, as he did with all his cowardly ſloth.

Tacit. l. 3. Hiſt. *Tanta torpedo invaſerat animum, ut ſi Principem eum fuiſſe cæteri non meminiſſent, ipſe obliviſceretur.*

So great a ſenceleſneſſe did poſſeſſe his mind, that if other men had not remembred that he had been a Prince, (and therefore was not to look for ſecurity in a private eſtate) he himſelf would quickly have forgotten it.

Tacit. l 2. Hiſt. *A contumelia quàm à laude propius fuerit, poſt Vitellium eligi.*

It was more a diſgrace then a praiſe to be choſen after *Vitellius*.

He uſed no other defences againſt the ruine which approched him, but onely to keep out the memory and report of it with fortification of mirth and ſottiſhneſſe, that ſo he might be delivered from the paines of preſerving himſelf. *Præterita, inſtantia, futura, pari oblivione dimiſerat, mirum apud ipſum*

*ſum de bello ſilentium, prohibiti per civitatem ſermones*, &c. Tacit. Hiſt. lib. 3.

*Ita formata Principis aures, ut aſpera quæ utilia, nec quidquam niſi jucundum & læſurum acciperet.* Tacit. l. 3. Hiſt.

The Princes eares were ſo framed, that he accounted all ſharp that was wholſome, and liked of nothing but that which was preſently pleaſant, and afterwards hurtfull.

*Amicitias dum magnitudine munerum, non conſtantiâ morum continere putat, meruit magis quàm habuit.* Tacit. l. 3. Hiſt.

*He* deſerved rather then found faithfull friends, becauſe he ſought them more by great gifts then vertuous behaviour.

At the laſt he was ſlain in an ignominious manner, having many ſcornfull indignities offered unto him both in deed and word; they drew his head backward by the buſh of the hair (as condemned Malefactors are wont to be ſerved) and a ſwords point was ſet under his chin, to the end he might ſhew his face, and not hold it down while ſome pelted him with dung and dirty mire; others called him with open mouth, Incendiary or Firebrand, becauſe hee burnt the Capitol; and *Patinarium* or *Platter-Knight*, for his Gormandizing, and great Platter; and ſome of the common ſort twitted him with the deformities of his body: being all mangled with many ſmall ſtrokes, he was killed in the end. *Numeroſis ictibus confoſſus interiit.* Suetonius. He was killed by *Veſpaſians* ſouldiers upon the ſtaires *Gemoniæ*, where hee ſuffered *Veſpaſians* brother to be ſlain.

*He* was ſlain * in the 57. year of his age, when * Aurel. Vict. *Tacitus. Suetonius. Eutrop.*

when he had reigned eight moneths and five dayes, ſay * *Joſephus*, and * *Euſebius*; eight moneths and ten dayes ſaith * *Tertullian.* * *Tacitus* reporteth, that in thoſe few moneths wherein he reigned, he had waſted nine hundred millions of Seſterces, which amounteth to ſeven Millions, thirty one thouſand two hundred and fifty pounds ſterling; and *Joſephus* * thinketh if he had lived longer, the whole Revenues of the Empire had not been ſufficient to have maintained his Gluttony.

* l. 5. of the wars of the Iewes, c. 13.
* Chron.
* *Lib. adverſus Judæos.*
* *Hiſt.* 2. 27. *Ipſe abundè ratus ſi præſentibus fruetur, nec in longum conſultans, novies mille ſeſterium pauciſſimis menſibus intervertiſſe creditur.*

* *Otho menſes ac dies quinque potitus Imperio, jugulatur in media Urbe; quem ſi vivere diutius contigiſſet, ejus Luxuriæ ſatis eſſe Imperium non potuiſſet.* Joſeph. *de Bello Judaico.*

# *Choyce Obſervations*

## OF

# FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS.

*PRinceps obſcurè quidem natus, ſed optimis comparandus, privatâ vitâ illuſtris.* Eutropius.

He was of a middle ſtature, well ſet, his limbes compact and ſtrongly made, *vultu veluti nitentis*, he looked ſtill as if he ſtrained hard for a ſtool, whereupon a Buffon brake a pretty jeſt on him; for when *Veſpaſian* ſeemed to requeſt him to ſay ſomething of him as well as of others in the company, *Dicam, inquit, cum ventrem exonerare deſieris.* I will let you alone, ſaith he, till you have done your buſineſſe. *Suetonius.* That saying of *Martial* agreeth with this. *Nam faciem duram Phœbe cacanth habes. Vir multorum ſalium.* Lodovic. Viv.

He was very pleaſant and facetious himſelf; for being advertiſed by *Florus* to pronounce * *Plauſtra* rather then *ploſtra*, he ſaluted him the next morning by the name of *Flaurus.* *A word in Lat. that ſignifies Carts or Waines. *Convitiorum plauſtra.*

When the apparition of a Comet or blazing ſtarre was thought to portend his death, he replyed merrily, that the buſhy *Stella crinita*, noted not him but the *Parthian* King, *Ipſe enim comatus eſt, ego vero calvus*, for, he weareth buſhy lockes, but I am bald. But he dyed a little while after, and by his example (ſaith *Keckerman*) warned Sueton. Aurel. Vict. *Syſtem. Phyſ. l. 6.*

warned men to forbear jesting at Gods great workes and Prodigies.

A presignification of his advancement. Being elected Emperour, it is reported of him, that he cured one desperately blind by spitting upon his eyes. *Tacit. Hist. l. 4. Suetonius.*

An Oxe having cast off his yoke, ran furiously into the room where he sate at Supper, where affrighting his Attendants from him, he straight prostrates himself before his feet, as if he had been weary, offering his neck to his clemency, *Suetonius.*

When he came to the Empire, the Exchequer was so impoverished, that he protested in open Senate, that he wanted to settle the Common-wealth 40. Millions of *Sestertiums*; which protestation (saith *Sueton.*) seemed probable, *Quia & male partis optime usus est.*

He fought 30. Battels in Britain, took 20. Townes, and adjoyned the Isle of *Wight* to the obedience of the Roman Empire.

When a certain gallant youth smelling hot of sweet balmes and perfumes, came unto him to give thanks for an office obtained at his hands, after a strange countenance shewing his dislike of him, he gave him also in words a most bitter check, saying, *I would rather thou hadst stunk of Garlicke*, and so revoked his Letters Patents for the grant.

*Maluissem allium olo-luisses.* Suetonius.

He never carried in his mind, nor revenged displeasures done unto him. He married the daughter of *Vitellius* his enemy into a most noble house, gave unto her a rich Dowry withall, and furniture accordingly.

Suetonius. He was made *Totus ex clementia* (as the Historian

Historian tels us) yet for all that, *Machinationes nefariorum assiduas expertus est*, He found daily treacheries attempted against him. *Pladicissimæ bonitatis.* Eutropius.

*Iustis etiam supplicijs illachrymavit & ingemuit.* Sueton.

He was so compassionate a Prince, that he was wont to sigh and weep, even for them that were condignly punished.

An innocent person was not punished but when he was absent, & not aware thereof, or at leastwise unwilling thereto, and deceived. Eutropius.

But he was severe towards *Julius Sabinus*, who in times past said he was *Cæsar*; and taking up armes, was at last conquered and brought to *Rome*. His wife spake to *Vespasian* in his behalf, pleading that he had two sons of her; and supplicating to him for mercy to her husband and her self, used these words, *Ego, ô Cæsar, hos in monumento peperi aluique, ut plures tibi supplices essemus*: By which speech, although she drew teares from him and those that were present; yet she could not procure her Husbands pardon. *Dion.*

The Souldiers elected him Emperour, and requested him to preserve the Empire being in great danger to be lost. Yet he (though he had been alwaies carefull for the good of the Common-wealth) refused to be Emperour, deeming himself indeed to have deserved it, but rather chusing to live a private life, wherein was security, then in the *Josephus, l. 5. of the wars of the Jews, c. 10.*

height of fortune and honour with perpetuall danger. The Captains were most earneſt becauſe he refuſed it, and the Souldiers flocked about him with drawn ſwords, threatning his death except he would conſent to live as he deſerved; yet he ſtrove a long time to avert their determination, being loth to be Emperour; at laſt ſeeing he could not avoid it, he accepted their offer.

*Joſephus*, l. 4. of the wars of the Jews, c. 1.

He comforted his Souldiers with theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches, I will expoſe my ſelf to all dangers with you, and go firſt to fight, and come laſt from fight.

*Tacitus* l. 2. Hiſt.

*Ipſe Veſpaſianus milites adire, hortari, bonos laude, ſegnes exemplo incitare ſæpiùs quam coercere; vitia magis amicorum quam virtutes diſſimulans.*

He would go in his own perſon, and encourage the Souldiers, inciting the good by praiſe, the ſlow by example rather then correction; he was more ready to conceal the Vices of his friends, then the vertues.

It was a worthy report which *Pliny* gave of him, if he flattered him not, to whom being Emperour he wrote thus; *Nec quicquam in te mutavit fortuna amplitudo, niſi ut prodeſſe tantundem poſſes & velles.* Greatneſſe and Majeſty have changed nothing in you but this, that your power to do good ſhould be anſwerable to your will.

*Tacit.* l. 1. Hiſt.

*Solus omnium ante ſe Principum, in melius mutatus eſt.*

The onely Prince before his time which changed

changed to the better, for after him *Titus* his Son changed also the same way.

A vigilant Warriour, and in all respects, set avarice aside, comparable to the Commanders of ancient times, saith *Tacitus.*

*Sola est in qua meritò culpetur, pecuniæ cupiditas.* Sueton. *Homo turpiter avidus.*

The onely thing for which he might worthily be blamed was covetousnesse. Eras. *Adag.*

*Prorsus si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par. Tacitus.*

He not onely called for arrerages due in *Galba's* time, but raised new Tributes, and laid upon the Provinces more grievous impositions, doubling them in some places.

*Negotiationes vel privato pudendas propalam exercuit.* Suetonius.

He did negotiate and deale in certain Trades, which it was a shame for a private person to use: buying up and engrossing some Commodities at a cheap hand, that afterward he might vent them at higher rates. Neither did he spare to sell Honours to such as sued for them, or absolutions to such as were accused, whether they proved guilty or not. He was thought of set purpose to have made choyce of the most greedy proling Officers he could any where find out, and to have advanced them to the highest places, that being thereby grown rich, he might condemn their persons, and confiscate their goods. Suetonius. And it was commonly said, that he used these men as spunges, *Quòd quasi & siccos madefaceret,* Not unlike to this was that speech of *Diogenes, Dixit Diony-*

*sium amicis uti pro vasculis, quæ dum plena sunt evacuat, & abiicit vacua.*

*& exprimeret humentes*; becauſe he did wet them well when they were dry, and preſſe them hard when they were wet.

Some write that he was by nature moſt covetous, and an old neatherd upbraided him once therewith, who being at his hands denied freedom without paying for it (which he humbly craved of him now inveſted in the Empire) cried out with a loud voyce, *Vulpem pilum mutare non mores*, that the Foxe might change his hair but not his qualities.

Suetonius.

*Quicquid infixum & ingenitum eſt, deniri poteſt arte, non vinci.* Seneca.

He laid an impoſition upon urine, and being by his Son *Titus* put in mind of the baſeneſſe of it, he took a piece of money received for the uſe, and putting it to his Sons noſe, demanded of him whether he was offended with the ſmell or no, *Atqui* (*inquit*) *è lotio eſt*, and yet (quoth he) it commeth of urine: *Vnde* Juvenalis,

Sueton.

Sat. 14.

——— *Lucri bonus eſt odor è re*
*Qualibet.*

*Ad quod alludens etiam* Ammianus, *dixit, & lucrum ex omni odorantes occaſione.*

*Infirmus, ut quidam prave putant, adverſus pecuniam, cum ſatis conſtet erarii inopia & clade urbium, neque novas tum neque poſtea habitas vectigalium penſiones exquiſiviſſe,* Aurel. Vict.

There are ſome of a contrary opinion, that he was driven to ſpoyl, to pill and poll of neceſſity, even for extreme want, both in the common Treaſury, and alſo in his own Exchequer, whereof he gave ſome teſtimony in the beginning of his Empire, profeſſing (as was ſaid before) that there was need of forty Millions to ſet the ſtate upright again; which opinion (ſaith *Suetonius*) ſeemes to ſound more near unto the

the truth, because the mony by him ill gotten he used and bestowed very well, for he was most liberall to all sorts of men.

*Restitutionem Capitolii aggressus, ruderibus purgandis manus primus admovit, ac suo collo quædam extulit,* Suetonius.

In the third building of the Capitol, *Vespasian* carried the first basket of earth, after him the Nobility did the like, to make the people more forward in the service; and perhaps the custome of laying the first stone in a building, hath from hence, if not beginning, yet growth. *Sueton.*

It was his speech, *Oportet Imperatorem stantem mori*, An Emperour ought to dye standing. And likewise he said at his death, *Vt puto Deus fio, id est, morior; nam post mortem Cæsares referebantur in numerum deorum.* Me thinkes (quoth he) I am a deifying, and growing to be a god. *Aurel. Vict.* *Oportet Episcopum concionantem mori.* Iewel. *Aurel. Vict.*

*Annum agens vitæ absq; uno septuagesimum interiit.* *Sueton.*

He lived threescore and 9. yeares, 7. moneths, and 7. daies over.

He reigned 2. yeares, saith *Eusebius.*

# *Choyce Obſervations*

## OF

# TITUS VESPASIANUS.

*Speed* ſaith as much of *Henry* the fifth, whom he compareth to *Titus*. *Edgar Etheling*, Englands darling.

FOR his Naturall goodneſſe and noble diſpoſition, he was called *Amor & delicia humani generis*, The lovely darling, and delightfull joy of Mankind. *Tantum illi ad promerendam omnium voluntatem, vel ingenii, vel artis, vel fortunæ ſuperfuit.* Sueton.

So fully was he either indued with good nature and diſpoſition, or enriched with skill and cunning, or elſe graced with fortunes favour.

Auguſtin *De Civit. Dei. lib.* 5. *cap.* 21. calls him *Suaviſsimum Principem*, a moſt ſweet Prince.

Yet God made him a terrible ſcourge to the Nation of the Jewes, who forſook the Lord Jeſus, and preferred *Cæſar*; for as our Saviour propheſied concerning Jeruſalem, that a ſtone ſhould not be left upon a ſtone, *Matth.* 24. 2. So it was fulfilled forty yeares after his Aſcention, by *Veſpaſian* the Emperour, and his Son *Titus*, ſay *Euſebius* and *Joſephus*. And by that which followeth in the ſame *Ch.* 21. *v.* he meaneth the tribulation the Jewes were to endure at the ſiege, and ſurpriſall of Jeruſalem by *Veſpaſian* and

Dr. *Sclat.*

and *Titus*. In the time of which siege the Jewes were oppressed with a grievous Famine, in which their food was old shooes, old leather, old hay, and the dung of beasts. There dyed partly of the sword, and partly of the famine, eleven hundred thousand of the poorer sort: two thousand in one night were imbowelled: six thousand were burned in a Porch of the Temple. The whole City was sacked and burnt, and laid levell to the ground; and ninety seven thousand taken captives, and applyed to base and miserable service. Mr. *Perkins*. *Vespasian* brake into their City at Cedron, where they took Christ, on the same feast day that Christ was taken, he whipped them where they whipped Christ, he sold twenty Jewes for a penny, as they sold Christ for thirty pence. *Andr. Cat.*

So many of the *Jewes* were crucifyed, that (by relation of their own *Josephus de bello Iudaico lib. 6. c. 12.*) there remained no more space to set crosses in, nor any more crosses to crucify bodies upon.

At the very first, even in his child-hood there shone forth in him gifts both of body and mind, and the same more and more still by degrees, as he grew in yeares.

He was therefore sickly, because his Nurse was so. Lampridius.

*Ingenium quantæcunque fortunæ capax, decor oris cum quadam Majestate.* Tacitus, l. 2. Hist.

A person capable of any dignity, were it never so great; of a goodly presence and countenance, wherein was seated no lesse Majesty then favour and beauty. *Formâ egregiâ, & cui non minus auctoritatis inesset quam gratiæ.*

His stature was not tall, and his belly bare Sueton.

*Facundissimus, bellicosissimus, moderatissimus.* Eutropius.

bare out somewhat with the most. He had a singular memory, and was very docible; he was most skilfull in handling his weapon, and withall a passing good Horseman. He was *facilis ad extemporalitatem usque.* He was of a prompt and ready wit, and would have spoken well *ex tempore*; He was also skilfull in Musick; he could write with cyphers, and by artificial characters, both very fast and very fair, striving by way of sport and mirth with his own Clerkes, whether he or they could write fastest: He was able to expresse and imitate what hand soever he had seen, and would often say, that he could have been a notable forger, and counterfeiter of writings.

Sueton.

Sueton.

*Tacit.* l. 2. Hist.

*Suo quam Patris Imperio modestior.*

Whiles he was a private person, he behaved himself not altogether so well as when he was Emperour.

*Berenice.* Dion. & Josephus.

His youthful affections were setled somewhat upon *Berenice* the Queen of *Iewry*; notwithstanding in no such degree that it was any hinderance to his honourable actions.

Sueton. *Convivia instituit jucunda magis quam profusa.* Suetonius.

The Feasts which he made were pleasant merriments rather then lavish and sumptuous.

No grosse vice could be found in him, but many excellent vertues.

*Neminem à se dimisit tristem.*

He never dismissed any Petitioner with a tear in his eye, or a heavy heart; and when his Domesticall servants about his Person would

would seem to tell him, that he promised more then he was able to perform; his saying was, *Non oportet quenquam à sermone Principis tristem discedere.* No man ought to depart from the speech of a Prince, sad and discontented.

Sueton. *Hadrianus Cæsar* said, It was troublesome to him if he saw any sad.

Calling to mind one time as he sate at Supper, that he had done nothing for any man that day, he uttered this memorable and praise-worthy Apothegme, *Amici, diem perdidi.* My Friends, I have lost a day.

*Aurel. Vict. Sueton. Eutropius.* Or rather it must be read (saith Casaub.) *Amici, hodie diem perdidi.*

If he had not bestowed some benefit upon one or other, he was wont to say (saith *Mollerus*) *Hodie non imperavi quia nemini benefeci.*

His rule and Government was mercifull, he received no accusation against those who were reported to have spoken evil of him, saying, *Ego cum nihil faciam dignum propter quod contumeliâ afficiar, mendacia nihil curo.* When I shall do nothing worthy of blame, I care not for lyes.

He said, he would rather dye himself, then put others to death. He proceeded no further against two Noblemen convicted for affecting and aspiring to the Empire, then to admonish them to desist and give over, saying, that Sovereigne Power was the gift of Destiny and Divine Providence; if they were Petitioners for any thing else, he promised to give it unto them.

*Periturum se potius quam perditurum adjurans.* Sueton. *Suetonius. Eutropius. Aurel. Vict.*

He would not endure to kill, or sequester and confine his Brother *Domitian* (though he never ceased to lay wait for his life)

*Aurel. Vict. Suetonius.*

liſe) but ſtill made him partner with him in his Sovereigne Government, and often with teares exhorted him to mutual love.

There fell out in his dayes ſome heavy accidents; a fire in the City of *Rome*, which laſted three dayes and three nights; and a grievous Peſtilence, wherein there dyed ten thouſand a day: and *Veſuvius* a mountain in *Campania* flamed with great horrour; *Pliny* the naturall Hiſtorian then Admiral of the Roman Navie, deſirous to diſcover the reaſon, was ſuffocated with the ſmoke thereof, as his Nephew witneſſeth in an Epiſtle of his to *Cornelius Tacitus*. *Marcellinus* obſerveth, that the aſhes thereof tranſported in the Aire, obſcured all Europe; others ſay, that they darkned the Sun.

*Tacitus. Sueton. Aurel. Vict.*

*Plinie. l. 6. Epiſt. 16.*

He was a valiant Souldier; going once to eſpy the enemy, and not to fight, notwithſtanding that an infinite number of darts and arrowes were ſhot at him, and he had no Armour at all, yet received he not one wound, but all paſt him, as though upon purpoſe every one had ſtrove to have miſt him. And he with his ſword made way, and cut many upon the face that oppoſed themſelves againſt him, and ſo they falling down, he with his horſe paſt over them. The Jewes ſeeing *Titus* his valour, exhorted one another to ſet upon him, but whitherſoever he turned, the Jewes fled and would not abide by it.

*Joſeph. l. 6. c. 2.* Of the wars of the Jewes. From his wonderfull eſcape at the view of the walls of Jeruſalem. *Joſephus* collects. *Imperatorum pericula Deum curare*; That God takes care of Princes in their danger. *Ibid.*

In the laſt aſſault of Ieruſalem, he ſlew twelve

twelve enemies that defended the wall, with just so many arrowes shot, and won the City with great joy, and favourable applause of all his Souldiers. *Suetonius. Eutropius.*

He being to see that executed which Christ foretold should happen to Ierusalem, stretched forth his hands, and called Heaven and Earth to witnesse in great bitternesse, that he was not to blame that the Jewes perished in such sort, but they themselves; and would not by any meanes that fire should be set on the Temple. Comparing the desolation of Jerusalem with the beauty and goodly buildings that were before it was destroyed, he lamented and pitied the overthrow thereof, saith *Iosephus.* *Josephus de Bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 14. & 7. 10.* *L. 7. of the wars of the Jewes. c. 24.*

It is likely that he would have carried a milder hand upon the Iewes his Prisoners, after his sacking the City of Ierusalem, then to cast so many thousands of them to the Lions, and other beasts to be devoured, as he did on the Birth-day of his Brother *Domitian*, but that the heavy curse of God which boyled against that Nation, did urge his gentle and calm nature to bring them to destruction. *Illud adagium Festina lentè, arridebat duobus Imperatoribus Romanis, omnium facile laudatissimis, Augusto & Tito; quorum utrique singulari quædam aderat animi magnitudo, cum incredibili quadam lenitate facilitateq; conjuncta.* Eras. *in Adag.*

He did stamp in his Coin a Dolphin and an Anchor, with this Impresse, *Sat cito si sat bene.* A Dolphin out-strips the ship, that's *soon enough*; an anchor stayeth the ship, that's *well enough.* A Dolphin and Anchor, *Soon enough if well enough.*

It was said of him, *Abstinuit alieno, ut si quis unquam.* If ever any man abstained from that

that which was not his own, he was the man.

Though he was the Mirrour of men among the Heathen, yet he was loth to depart out of this world; for being carried in his Horse-litter, and knowing that he must dye, he looked upwards towards *H*eaven, and complained very pitiously, that his life should be taken from him who had not deserved to dye, for he knew not (he said) of any sin that ever he cõmitted but only one.

Suetonius. *Multum conquestus, eripi sibi vitam immerenti, neque enim extare ullum suum factum pœnitendum, excepto duntaxat uno.*

*Suetonius* writes as if he had dyed of a natural death, but *Aurel. Vict.* saith, he was poysoned by his Brother *Domitian*, *Titus à Domitiano leporis marini vi peremptus.* Cæl. Rhod. *Lect. Antiq. l. 6. cap.* 30.

Whether his over familiar acquaintance with his Brothers wife *Domitia*, as *Sueton.* or with the Queen *Berenice*, as *Speed*, is uncertain.

*Morte præventus est, majore hominum damno quam suo.*

*H*e was cut short and prevented by death, to the greater losse of Mankind then of himself, saith *Suetonius.*

The Senate gave him more thankes being dead, then ever they did living and present.

*Senatus tantas mortuo gratias egit, laudesq; congessit, quantas ne vivo quidem unquam atque præsenti.* Suetonius.

*H*is death was much lamented, so that they call'd him generally, *Delicias publicas*; and wept for him as if the world had been deprived of a perpetuall Protectour. *Tantus luctus eo mortuo publicus fuit, ut omnes tanquam in propria doluerint orbitate.*

Aurelius. Eutropius.

*H*e dyed in the 42. year of his age, saith *Suetonius.* 41. say *Aurel. Vict.* and *Eutropius.*

He lived 39 yeares, five moneths, 25. dayes, saith *Carion.*

When he had reigned two yeares, two moneths, and twenty dayes, say *Suetonius*, *Aurel. Vict.* *Carion*; eight moneths, saith *Eutropius.*

# *Choyce Obſervations*

## OF

# FLAVIVS DOMITIANVS.

HE was called *Domitian* from his Mother *Domitilla*, as *Titus* (his Brother) was called *Veſpaſian* from his Father.

*Titus cognomine paterno dictus Veſpaſianus, alter frater cognomine materno à Domitilla Domitianus eſt appellatus.* Caſau.

He was Aſſociate to his Brother *Titus* in government during his life, and after his death was his Succeſſour.

Perceiving many of his Predeceſſours to be hated, he asked one, how he might ſo rule as not to be hated? the Party anſwered, *Tu fac contra*, Do thou contrary to that they have done.

Yet he neither reſembled his Father *Veſpaſian* nor his Brother *Titus*. *Neroni, aut Caligulæ, aut Tiberio ſimilior, quam Patri vel Fratri ſuo.* Eutropius.

He was tall of ſtature, his countenance modeſt, and given much to redneſſe; his eyes full and great, but his ſight very dim. He was fair and of comely preſence, eſpecially in his youth; all his body was well ſhaped throughout, excepting his feet, the toes whereof were of the ſhorteſt; afterwards he became disfigured, and blemiſhed with baldneſſe, with a fat grand panch, and ſlender ſhankes.

*Stylis ridiculè remotis omnibus, muscarum agmina persequebatur.* Aurel. Vict.

In the beginning of his Empire his manner was to retire himself daily into a secret place for one houre, and there to do nothing else but to catch flyes, and with the sharp point of a bodkin prick thē through, in so much as when one enquired whether any body were with *Cæsar* within? *Crispus* made answer not impertinently, *Ne Musca quidem*, No, not so much as a Flye.

*Hippocrates* reckons up this for one signe of Melancholy, when men catch flyes; *Muscas captare, atræ bilis indicium.* Sueton.

In the Administration of the Empire, he behaved himself for a good while variable, as one made of an equall mixture and temper of Vices and Vertues, untill at length he turned his vertues also into vices.

He neglected all Liberall Studies in the beginning of his Empire, albeit he took order to repaire the Libraries consumed with fire, sending as far as * *Alexandria* for copies of Books.

* At *Alexandria* in Egypt was that famous Library of King *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, and the other *Ptolomies* Progenitors, containing the number well near of 700000. Bookes, Aul. Gel. *Noct. Attic. l.* 7. *c.* 1.

*Vellem tam formosus esse quàm Metius sibi videtur.*

His ordinary speech was not unelegant, sometimes he would deliver Apothegmes; as for example, he wished, That he had been as fair and well-favoured as *Metius* did think himself to be; another time he said, *That the condition of Princes was most miserable, who could not be credited touching a Conspiracy plainly detected, unlesse they were first slain.*

*Conditionem Principum miserrimam aiebat, quibus de conjuratione comperta non crederetur, nisi occisis.* Sueton.

This speech was used also by *Adrian*, *Misera conditio Imperatorum, quibus, de affectata tyrannide, nisi occisis non potest credi.* Vulcat. Gallic. *in Avidio Cassio.*

He

He had no affection to bear Armes, or wield weapons, but delighted especially to shoot Arrowes. *He* would drive his Arrowes point blank, so just against the Palm of a mans right hand, standing a far off, and holding it forth stretched open for a mark, as they should all directly passe through the voyd spaces between the fingers, and do him no harm at all.

*Sagittarum tam doctus fuit, ut inter patentes digitos extemæ manus viri procul positi spicula ejus transvolarent.* Aurel. Vict. *Suetonius. Simile quid audivi à fide dignis & αὐτοπταις factum de duce Brundewizensi, qui suis pedissequis ac pueris honorariis imperavit, inter digitorum extensorum intervalla retinerent dalerum Imperialem, quem sumpto sclopo minore, è patentibus digitis globulo innoxiè exemit.* Paulus Voetius *in Herodiani Marcum & Commodum. p.* 178. & 179.

During his abode at *Alba*, many have seen him shoot at an hundred wild beasts at a time, and purposely so to hit some of them in the head, that his shafts appeared there like a pair of hornes.

It was rumoured abroad, that in his Infancy, Dragons were found about him, in manner of a Guard, which is but a Fable; for he himself, who never derogated from himself, was wont to report but of one Serpent which was seen in his Chamber.

*Tacitus* l. 11. Annal.

When he was mounted once to the Imperiall state, he made his boast in the very Senate, that it was he who had given unto his Father and Brother both the Empire, and they had but delivered it up to him again.

*Suetonius.*

*Martial* writeth thus to him in his Epigrams.

*Magna licet toties tribuas, majora daturus*
*Dona, Ducum victor, victor & ipse tui:*

*Diligeris populo non propter præmia, Cæſar;*
*Propter te populus, præmia, Cæſar, amat.*

He was preciſe and induſtrious in miniſtring Juſtice, he reverſed many times definitive ſentences given for favour, and obtained by flattery; he did ſo chaſtiſe thoſe that were faulty in that kind, that the Officers were never more temperate, or juſt in their places.

He repreſſed falſe informations, and ſharply puniſhed ſuch informers, uſing this ſaying, *Princeps qui delatores non caſtigat, irritat.* The Prince that chaſteneth not Promoters, ſetteth them on to promote.

At the firſt he ſo abhorred all Bloodſhed and ſlaughter, that he purpoſed to publiſh an Edict, forbidding to kill and ſacrifice any Oxe; and he ſcarce gave the leaſt ſuſpicion of Covetouſneſſe. But he continued not long in this ſtrain, but fell after both to Cruelty and Avarice.

He was not only cruell, but very ſubtil and crafty in cloking of his cruelty.

Suetonius. *Nunquam triſtiorem ſententiam ſine præfatione clementiæ pronunciavit, ut non aliud jam certius atrocis exitus ſignum eſſet, quam Principis lenitas.* He never pronounced any heavy and bloody Sentence without ſome preamble and preface of clemency, ſo that there was not now a ſurer ſigne of ſome horrible end and concluſion, then a mild beginning and gentle *Exordium.*

It is reported of him, that, *Eum ſe impenſiſſimè diligere ſimulabat, quem maximè interemptum*

*teremptum vellet.* He would seem to love them most, whom he willed least should live.

It was sufficient, if any deed or word whatsoever was objected against any one, to make it high Treason against the Prince. Inheritances (though they belonged to the greatest strangers) were held confiscate, and adjudged to the Emperours Coffers, in case but one would come forth, and depose that he heard the party deceased say whiles he lived, that *Cæsar* was his heir.

Suetonius. *Primus Domitianus Dominum se & Deum appellari jussit.* Eusebius *in Chronicis.* Sueton. Eutropius. Aurel. Vict. *Virgil* called *Augustus* God, *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit. Unde institutum post hæc, ut ne scripto quidem nec sermone cujusquam appellaretur aliter.*

He was the first Emperour who commanded himself to be called Lord, and God. He sent out his writs in this form, *Dominus & Deus noster sic fieri jubet*, Our Lord and God thus commandeth. Whereupon afterward this order was taken up, that neither in the writing or speech of any man, he should be otherwise called.

*Edictum Domini Deique nostri.* Martial.

Suetonius. An Oracle signifieth the answer of God.

A true forerunner of his successour the Pope, who in the Extravagants (and well it deserves to be put there) is styled *Dominus Deus noster Papa*, and his Decrees are styled Oracles.

*Rom.* 3. 2. *Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l.* 3. *c.* 15. *Portio Neronis de crudelitate.*

The second persecution was under him in the twelfth year of his reigne; he most cruelly persecuted the Christians, because they would not give the Title of Lord to any but Christ, nor worship any but God. In this second great persecution, the beloved Disciple of Christ, the Evangelist

for his cruelty a piece of *Nero. Tertul.*

He was reprochfully called by the people bald *Nero*, because he was like him in cruelty, but bald. *Et calvo serviret Roma Neroni.* Juvenal.

*Iohn*, when he taught the Church of *Epheſus*, was baniſhed to the Iſle of *Patmos* for the Word of God, where he wrote the *Revelation*.

*Cletus*, *Nicomedes*, *Pontia*, *Theodora*, *Domicilla*, were then famous Martyrs.

There were many learned Schollars in his time; *Iuvenal*, *Martial*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Silius Italicus*, Poets: *Epictetus* the Philoſopher, and *Apollonius Tyaneus* a famous Magician: *Cornelius Tacitus* the Hiſtorian, *Iulius Solinus*, *Quintilian*, *Ioſephus* the writer of Iewiſh Antiquities.

He was proud like *Nero*, and perſecuted innocent Chriſtians as he did.

*Tertullian* called him *Neronis portionem*, *Euſebius hæredem*, the one a part, the other the heir of *Nero*: and *Tacitus* puts onely this difference between them, that *Nero* indeed commanded cruell Murthers, but *Domitian* not onely commanded them, but beheld them himſelf; and ſo he was *Bis Parricida* (as *Valerius* * *Maximus* ſaith of another) *Conſilio prius, iterum ſpectaculo.*

*In vita* Agricolæ. *Nero tantum ſubtraxit oculos, juſſitque ſcelera, non ſpectavit. Præcipua ſub Domitiano miſeriarum pars erat, videre & aſpici.* * *L.* 9. *c.* 11. *Valde ſolicitus, quod ſciret ultimum vitæ diem,* ſaith *Suetonius* He was much tortured in mind, becauſe he foreknew his end. *Sueton.*

He cauſed the line of *David* to be diligently ſought out and extinguiſht, for fear leſt he were yet to come of the houſe of *David*, which ſhould enjoy the Kingdom.

He was ſo fearfull, that he walked almoſt continually in his Gallery, which he cauſed to be ſet with the ſtone Phengites, that by the brightneſſe thereof as in a glaſſe, (*Plin. l.* 36, *c.* 22) he might ſee what was done behind him.

That

That is admirable which writers have related concerning *Apollonius Tyanæus*, a *Pythagorick Philosopher* and famous *Magician*, who suddenly as amazed, cried out at Ephesus the same time, *O Stephen, strike the Tyrant*; and a little after, he said, *It is well thou hast strucke him, thou hast wounded him, thou hast killed him.*

As his life was like unto the life of *Nero*, so was he not unlike him in his death; for his own wife *Domitia*, and friends conspired against him, and slew him; his body was carried to the grave by Porters, and buried without honour; the Senate of *Rome* also decreed, that his name should be rased, that all his Acts should be rescinded, and his memoriall abolished quite for ever. *Suetonius. Aurel. Vict. Carion.*

He perished in the 45. year of his life, about the 15. of his reigne. *Aurel. Vict. & Eutropius. Carion, Chron.*

With whom both *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* end their History.

# AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

READER, *I know Bookes have their doom according to thy capacity, and that such are usually most free in censuring other mens workes, which are least able to publish any of their own. But as the Poet saith,* Carpere vel noli nostra, vel ede tua: *Many Carpes are expected when curious eyes go a fishing, and Bookes are pressed to the war as well as men;* Ad prælum tanquam ad prælium. *I neither deserve that favour from thee nor desire it, that thou shouldest respect my toyes, as* Pliny *said to* Vespasian, Tu soles nostras esse aliquid putare nugas: *and yet if thou be such a one, that* Augustus-*like thou art ready to tax all the world, I know no reason why I should regard thy censure; the French Proverb saith,* De fol juge brieve sentence, & Nihil facilius quam reprehendere alium. *However, I shall say now with* Iulius Cæsar, Iacta est alea, *I have put it to the hazard; thy applause shall not much tickle me, nor thy rash sentence discourage me. I have taken notice of a witty allusion used by divers of these Emperours, and others concerning them, which I thought fit to commend to thy observation, viz. a descanting as it were upon the double signification of the word, as first, that of* Iulius Cæsars *Souldiers:*

Gallias Cæsar subegit, Nicomedes Cæsarem:
Ecce Cæsar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias;
Nicomedes

Nicomedes non triumphat, qui ſubegit Cæſarem. Cæſar *did ſubdue the Gaules, and him hath* Nicomede: *Behold now* Cæſar *doth triumph, who did the Gaules ſubdue; But* Nicomede *triumpheth not, who* Cæſar *hath ſubdu'd.*

Subegit *carrieth a double ſence, the one ſignifieth the conquering of a Nation, and ſo it is taken in the former place, as it is applyed to* Gaule; *the other, the wanton abuſe of the body, in which acceptation it is to be underſtood in reference to* Cæſar *abuſed by* Nicomedes.

*So in the Hiſtory of* Auguſtus, Suetonius *ſaith,* Quaſi alii ſe puerum, alii ornandum tollendumque jactaſſent; ne aut ſibi aut veteranis par gratia referretur. *The grace lyeth in the ambiguity of the Latine word* tollendum, *which in one ſignification, is in a manner equivalent with* laudandum & ornandum, *and betokeneth to be advanced, extolled, or lifted up, and ſo it is to be taken in good part; but in another, it is all one with* tollendum de medio *or* occidendum, *that is, to be diſpatched out of life or killed, in which ſence* Auguſtus *took it; much like to that you ſhall read of* Nero *in* Martial,

Quis neget Æneæ magni de ſtirpe Neronem?
Suſtulit hic matrem, ſuſtulit ille patrem.

*The like appeareth in ſome of* Auguſtus *his witty ſpeeches, as that to* Galba; Ego te monere poſſum, corrigere non poſſum. Iocatus eſt ambiguo verbo, corrigitur quod reprehenditur, corrigitur quod ex diſtorto ſit rectum. *Eraſ. Apophtheg.* Hoc verè eſt monumentum Patris colere; Colimus ea quæ veneramur, & colitur ager aut aliud ſimile. Gemina fuiſſet amphibologia, ſi pro monumento dixiſſet memoriam, quod ab illo dictum arbitror; ſiquidem eorum memoria nobis ſacroſancta dicitur, quos vita defunctos

veneramur, & memorias ad Græcorum imitationem vocamus defunctorum monumenta. *Erasm. in Apoph.*

Nero *said jestingly of* Claudius, *That he left* morari inter homines; *in which Verb* morari *there is couched a double sense, which gives the grace unto this pleasant scoffe; for being a meer Latine word, and having the first syllable by nature short, it signifieth to stay, or to make long abode, and taking it thus,* Nero *might be thought to imply thus much; that* Claudius *was now departed out of the company of mortall men: but take the same word as* Nero *spake it, derived of* μωρὸς *in Greek, which signifieth a Fool, and hath the first syllable long, it importeth, that* Claudius *played the fool no longer here in the world among men. In the time of the two first* Cæsars, *which had the Art of Government in greatest perfection, there lived the best Poet,* Virgilius Maro; *the best Historiographer,* Titus Livius; *the best Antiquary,* Marcus Varro; *and the best or second Orator,* Marcus Cicero, *that to the memory of man are known. The time that the Roman Monarchie seemed to be at his* ἀκμὴ *was* (*saith* Carion) *from* Iulius Cæsar *to the end of* Antoninus *the Philosopher his reigne.*

*Afterward, many filthy Monsters reigned, and many seditious and civill wars followed; therefore I have not onely enlarged the former Treatise, by inserting here and there some other speciall observations, but have made an addition also of six more Emperours since,* (*as Sir* Francis Bacon *also saith in his advancement of Learning*) *the six next Princes were all learned, or singular favourers and advancers of Learning: which age* (*as he also saith*) *for temporall respects, was the most happy and flourishing that ever the Roman Empire* (*which then was a Model of the world*) *enjoyed: a matter revealed and prefigured unto* Domitian

in

*in a dream, the night before he was ſlain; for he thought there was grown behind upon his ſhoulders a Neck, and a head of Gold, which came accordingly to paſſe, in thoſe golden times which ſucceeded.* Fulke *in his Book of Meteors obſerveth, not long before the contention of* Galba, Otho, *and* Vitellius, *for the Empire of* Rome, *there appeared three Suns, as it were pointing out the ſtrife which followed ſoon after between them three for the Imperial Diadem; of threeſcore and thirteen Roman Emperours (that perished within the narrow compaſſe of one hundred years) onely three died a naturall death in their Beds, the reſt were cut off by their luſts.*

*It was a heavy time then with Chriſtians, when they groaned under the Perſecuting Emperours three hundred years together, yet in that time they had many* Lucida intervalla, *many breathing ſpaces under Princes not altogether ſo bloody; there were too principal Perſecutors of the Church,* Diocletian, *and* Julian, *but the laſt was the moſt peſtilent.* Jerome *juſtly ſtyled him* Canem rabidum; *and it is remarkable what is obſerved of him, that going forth to the Perſian War, he asked in ſcoffing manner, What the Carpenters Son (meaning Chriſt) was doing? To whom it was anſwered by a good Chriſtian,* Loculum fabricatur, *He is making a Coffin for* Julian; *which Prophetical ſpeech was indeed verified by the event; for* Julian *was ſtrangely wounded and ſlain in that War, and as in his life time he had blaſphemed Chriſt, ſo he died blaſpheming Chriſt, and caſting up his Blood towards Heaven, he cried,* Vicisti ô Galilæe, *Thou haſt overcome O Galilean.*

*This may ſuffice to have ſpoken of ſome of the chief Perſecutors in generall, ſince I purpoſe not to enlarge this Treatiſe any more, becauſe there is little ſaid of many of the Roman*

*Roman Emperours, and the* * *History of them altogether is already written in our Mother tongue: but I intended onely at the first,* Analecta, *some choyce and pithie observations of them, if these therefore may benefit thee,* summam votorum attigi, *I have attained the end of my desires, and so I rest*

* *Meziz* translated by *Grimston.*

Thy Well-wisher,

EDWARD LEIGH.

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COCCE-

# Choyce Obſervations

## OF

# COCCEIVS NERVA.

*Domitian* thus made away, *Coccejus Nerva* a prudent, honourable, and aged perſon was elected Emperour by the Senate; his birth was noble, and of *Italy*, in the City *Narnia*, and of the Province *Vmbria*, ruling ſo well, as he may be eſteemed too good a Prince long to continue in ſo bad an age; who reformed many enormities, and remitted many grievous tributes and exactions; alſo he recalled from baniſhment the Chriſtians ſeverally diſperſed, and ſuffered them to enjoy the freedom of their profeſſion, at which time *Iohn* the Evangeliſt returned from *Pathmos* (wherein he had been confined) unto *Epheſus*, a City in *Aſia* the leſſe, where after his return he lived 4. years. The excellent temper of his Government is by a glance in *Cornelius Tacitus* touched to the life, *Poſtquam divus Nerva res olim inſociabiles miſcuiſſet, imperium & libertatem. Dion* writeth of him, that he was ſo good a Prince, that he once uttered this ſpeech, *Nihil ſe feciſſe quo minus poſsit depoſito imperio privatus tutò vivere*, He remembreth not to have done any thing why he ſhould not live ſecurely, and without fear of any body,

He was 76. yeares old when he was Emperour. *Carion.*

*Suidas.* *Nicephorus.*

*In vita Agricolæ.*

body, although he gave over the Empire. His symbole was, *Mens bona regnum possidet.* He discharged the City of the new impositions which *Vespasian* and *Domitian* had laid upon them, and commanded that goods unjustly taken should be restored to the owners.

He was very eloquent, and a good Poet, as *Martial* testifies of him,

*Quanta quies placidi, tanta est facundia Nervæ.*

See *Martial's* Epigramme of him, *lib.* 11. *epig.* 6.

*Herodes Atticus* found a great treasure in his house, but fearing calumnies, he wrote to *Nerva*, and discovered it. He wrote back again, *Vtere, use it.* But he being not so secure, wrote again, *At enim thesaurus privati hominis conditionem superat, but the treasure exceedes the condition of a private man:* *Nerva* again nobly replied, *Ergo abutere. Lipsi. in Plin. Paneg.*

On a reverse of *Nerva* is found a team of horses let loose, with this inscription, *Vehiculatione per Italiam remissa*; whereby we learn (which no Historian remembers) that the Roman Emperours commanded all the carriages of the countrey; that *Nerva* remitted that burden; and that the grievance was so heavy, that coines were stamped in remembrance of this Emperours goodnesse that eased them of it. See the coines in *L. Hulsius*, and *Speed's* Chronicle.

*Sextus Aurel. Victor* writeth thus; *Quid Nerva prudentius aut moderatius? quid Trajano divinius?*

*divinius ? Quid praſtantius Hadriano.*

Having reigned onely one year, four moneths, and nine dayes, de dyed of a paſſionate anger conceived againſt a Senatour, in the year of Chriſt his Incarnation ninety nine, the twenty ſeventh day of Ianuary, and ſeventy ſixth of his own age. *Dion Caſſius.*

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*Choyce*

# Choyce Observations OF ULPIVS TRAJANVS.

Speed *Chro. Trajanus Tudernino Hispaniæ oppido oriundus est, in quo nihil præter unum Trajanum est quod commendemus. Opes nec exiguæ, nec supra privatum modum evectæ. Corpore valido, & formâ quæ digna imperio videbatur, erat.* Boxhorn. *orat. de vita & moribus Trajani.*

*Caput non diadema sed galea ornabat: & qua manu sceptrum domi, eadem gladium bello tenebat.* Boxhorn.

UNto *Nerva* succeeded *Vlpius Trajanus* into the Roman Empire, in the 42. year of his age, who was born near unto *Sevil* in the Territories of *Spain*, of a Noble Family, but was much more ennobled in himself for his Princely endowments; which moved *Nerva* in his life time to adopt him into so high a Calling, and the whole Senate after his death joyfully to confirm his Election, and so often to honour him with the title of the most Excellent Prince in publik Dedications. He raised the Roman Empire unto the very highest pitch of glory, and spread the power of their command into the largest circuit that ever before or since hath been possessed.

He subdued *Dacia*, made subject *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Mesopotamia*, conquered *Assyria*, *Persia*, and *Babylon*; passed *Tigris*, and stretched the confines of the Roman Empire unto the remotest Dominions of the *Indies*, which never before that time had heard of the Roman name. For his Person, he was not very learned, yet he was a great admirer of, and Benefactor to Learning; a Founder of Famous Libraries, a perpe

perpetuall advancer of Learned men to Office, *and a familiar Converser with learned Professors. *Quem honorem dicendi Magistris? quam dignationem sapientiæ doctoribus habes? ut sub te spiritum, & sanguinem, & patriam receperint studia, quæ priorum temporum immanitas exiliis puniebat.* Plin. Secund. *Paneg.*

*Præsens adorat non spectator tantum, sed & inter primos bellatorum; ut virtutis consiliisque ejus omnia deberentur.*

* *Eruditissimos, quamvis ipse parcæ esset scientiæ, moderateque eloquens, diligebat.* Aurel. Vict. *Plutarch* was his Master.

Of stature he was big, of complexion swarthy, thin of hair both head and beard, he had a hooked nose, broad shoulders, long hands, and a pleasant eye.

He stirred up the third Persecution, wherein *Ignatius*, and *Simon* the Son of *Cleophas*, and many other worthy Saints of God received the Crown of Martyrdom in such cruell manner, as that his other vertues are much clouded by that Taxation; for mollification whereof, he was intreated by *Plinius secundus*, whose Epistles to that purpose are yet extant, viz. the 97. of his tenth Book, where he hath this passage to *Trajan* concerning them; *Affirmabant hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quòd essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem; seque Sacramento non in scelus aliquid obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent, &c.* to which Letter *Trajan* thus replyeth, *Conquirendi non sunt; si deferantur & arguantur, puniendi sunt.*

*Eusebius. Eccles. Hist. l. 3. c. 30.*

He

*Nemo supplicii vultu, sed fieri & alacres non tam principem quam patrem agnoscebant.* Boxhorn. *Orat.*

Whereupon *Tertullian* in his Apology hath this passage, *O Sententiam necessitate confusam! negat inquirendos innocentes, & mandat puniendos ut nocentes; parcit & savit, dissimulat & animadvertit. Quid teipsum censurâ circumvenis? Si damnas, cur non & inquiris? si non inquiris, cur non & absolvis?*

He was affable and familiar even with his inferiours; of such carriage toward his subjects, as he himself would wish (he said) his Prince to use towards him, if he had been a subject. *Æquus, clemens, patientissimus, atque in amicos perfidelis*, saith *Aurelius Victor* of him. He was a great observer of Iustice, in so much that when he invested any Prætor, in giving him the Sword, he commanded him to use the same even against his own person, if he violated Law or equity.

*Accipe gladium quem pro me, si recte impero, sin minus, contra me distringe.*

He erected many famous buildings, whence *Constantine* the Great called him *Parietariam* Wall-flower, because his name was upon so many walls. *Alexander Severus* is rather to be commended, who caused that precept of the Gospel to be engraved on the frontispiece of his palace, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri nè feceris.*

*Dion* reporteth this Apothegme of him, *Nullum se unquam virum bonum male habiturum, nedum occisurum Dies ille triplici gaudio lætus* (saith *Pliny* in a Panegyrick to him) *qui principem abstulit pessimum, dedit optimum, meliorem optimo genuit.*

*In solo* Plinio Trajanum *habemus, in Trajano imaginem*

*imaginem omnium magnarum virtutum. Qui ea libertate omnia scripsit, qua* Trajanus *fecit; adeò ut incomparabili principe opus dignissimum sit & ipsum incomparabile.* Boxhorn. *Orat.*

*Rara temporum felicitas, ubi sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias dicere licet,* saith *Tacitus* of his reigne: a man so exceeding wellbeloved of the Senate, and of the people of *Rome*, that after his dayes, whensoever a new Emperour was Elected, they wished unto him the good successe of *Augustus*, and the uprightnesse of *Trajanus*. L. 1. *Hist.*

He dyed by a Flux the seventh day of *August*, after he had reigned 19. yeares, six moneths and 15. dayes, and of his age 64. *Carion* Chron.

# Choyce Observations OF ÆLIVS HADRIANVS.

It was his word, *Non mihi sed populo*, signifying that which he was often heard to say; *Ita se rempublicam gesturum, ut sciret rem populi esse, non suam,*

After the decease of *Trajan*, his Nephew *Ælius Hadrianus* by the consent of the Army, who swore to him obedience, was proclaimed Emperour; the Senate likewise confirmed their choyce, as being a man endued with gifts both of Art and Nature, answerable to the fortunes of his estate. His birth was of *Spain*, in the City *Italica*, near unto *Sevil* where *Trajan* was born; his Father Noble, and his Mother in *Cales* descended of an honourable stock. He was a great Mathematician, skilfull in Arithmetick, Geometry, and judiciall Astrology, learned in the Greek and Latine Tongues, well seen in Physick, and knew the vertues of Herbs, Roots, and Stones; a singular Musitian both for Theory and Practise, and could both limne and carve with approbation of the skilfull; but above all is the admirable report of his memory, who never (they say) forgot any thing that he had either read or heard.

*Hic Græcis literis impensius eruditus, & plerisq; Græculus appellatus est.* Aurel. Vict.

He said rightly, *Testibus non testimoniis credendum.*

If he discovered any man to have the like skill with him in all sciences (in the which he very much excelled) by whom there might be danger lest he were overcome, through envy and too greedy a desire of singula-

singularity, he caused him to be killed. Among the which was *Apollodorus* the Architect, a man beyond comparison excellent in that Art; for that the Emperour having sent unto him the plat-form of a great work which he had contrived, he by his efficacious reasons had proved, that in some place it was to be corrected. *Cusse* of Affectation. He quotes *Dion* & *Bapt. Fulg.* l. 8.

He was the most curious man that lived, and the most universal inquirer, in so much as it was noted for an errour in his mind, that he desired to comprehend all, and not reserve himself for the worthiest things; but it pleased God to use the curiosity of this Emperour as an inducement to the peace of the Church in those dayes: for having Christ in veneration, not as a God or Saviour, but as a wonder or novelty; and having his picture in his Gallery matched with *Apollonius* (with whom in his vain imagination he thought he had some conformity) yet it served the turn to allay the bitter hatred of those times against the Christian name, so as the Church had peace during his time. Sir *Francis Bacons* Advanc. of Learn.

He was a great favourer of learned men. *In* Adriani *Principis aulam non viri tantum militares, sed innumerabiles Philosophorum greges, tanquam in Lycæum aut veterem Academiam magnis de rebus disputaturi confluebant.* Alphonsus Garcias Matamorus *in narrat. Apologet. de Acad. & viris literatis. t.* 2. Piccartus *Observat. Historico-polit. Dec.* 17. *c.* 5. instanceth

in K. *Alphonsus* and others, who delighted in the society of learned men.

He was minded (as *Lampridius* writeth) to have built a Temple to the service of Christ, had not some dissuaded him therefrom.

He was of Personage tall and very strong, of a good complexion, and amiable countenance, wearing the heare of his head and beard long.

To shew that he counted *hatred retained* a base and unprincely disposition, as soon as he came to the Empire, he laid aside all his former enmities; insomuch as that meeting with one who had been his capitall enemy, he said unto him, *Evasisti*, Thou art now escaped from my displeasure. *Spartianus* in Hadriano. *videsis Casaubonum.*

When a woman called to him passing by, saying, *Audi me Cæsar*, Hear me *Cæsar*, and he answered, *Non est* *otium*, I have no leasure, she cryed out, *Noli ergo imperare*, then cease to reign; at that speech he being moved, staid and heard the *woman. It was accounted discretion in him, that would not dispute his best with him, excusing himself, *That it was reason to yeeld to him that commanded thirty legions.*

Though he was famous for his industry, wit, memory, and fortunate successe, and could in his fatall sickness command others to be slain, yet death denyed subjection to him. His servant which undertook it fled, his adopted Son pretended piety, his own hand was prevented by Attendants, his solicited

*Some say this was spoken to *Philip* of Macedon.

**Dion laudat Adrianum, qui in causis cognoscendis fuerit & facillimus & diligentissimus, adeo ut uni causæ cognoscendæ & dijudicandæ sæpè dies undecim aut duodecim tribueret, nonnunquam etiam noctes simul insumeret,*

licited Physician slew himself that he might not slay the Emperour, who yet complained at his death, *Many Physicians have slain the Emperour.* He sported at death with these Verses:

*Turba medicorum Cæsarem perdidit.*

*Animula, vagula, blandula,*
*Hospes, comesque Corporis,*
*Quæ nunc abibis in loca?*
*Pallidula, rigida, nudula,*
*Nec ut soles, dabis jocos.*
*My fleeting fond poor darling,*
*Bodies Guest and equall,*
*Where now must be thy lodging?*
*Pale, and stark, and stript of all,*
*And put from wonted sporting.*

When he had reigned in great honour and love the space of one and twenty years, five moneths and fifteen daies, and lived sixty two yeares, he dyed the eighth or tenth day of *Iuly* of a Dropsie, which malady so tormented him, that willingly he refused all sustenance, & languished away through faintnesse.

# Choyce Observations OF ANTONINUS PIVS.

*Hunc ferè nulla vitiorum labes maculavit.* Aurel. Vict. *Vixit ingenti honestate privatus, majori in imperio; Pius propter clementiam dictus est.* Eutropius.

UNto *Adrianus* succeeded *Antoninus Pius*, who was for his many vertues, or rather piety toward the Gods, Sur-named *Pius*; For piety (to speak properly) is the true worship of God, as *Austin* shewes in his 10. book *de Civit. Dei c.* 1. But he was not truly pious, because he knew not the true God.

He was compared for his peace and policy unto *Numa Pompilius*, the second King of *Rome*. His birth was in *Lombardy*, the Son of *Aurelius Fulvius*. He was a Prince excellently learned, and had the patient and subtile wit of a School-man, insomuch as in common speech (which leaves no vertue untaxed) he was called *Cymini-Sector*, a carver or a divider of Cumine Seede, which is one of the least seeds; such a patience he had, and setled spirit to enter into the least and most exact differences of causes: he likewise approched a degree nearer unto Christianity, and became as *Agrippa* said to *Paul*, *half a Christian*; holding their religion and law in good opinion, and not onely staying persecution, but giving way to the advancement of Christians. In his time *Iustin Martyr* wrote notable Bookes of Apologie

Apologie for the Christians, which were preserved and read in the Senate of *Rome*, and mollified the Emperours mind towards them. He was favourable to all sorts of men, having that Apothegme of *Scipio Africanus* rife in his mouth, that *He had rather save one Subjects life then kill a thousand enemies.*

His Symbole was, *Melius servare unum quam occidere mille.* *Scipio Africanus* was wont to say, *Malle se unum civem servare quam mille hostes occidere.*

He was of stature tall, of a seemely presence, in countenance majesticall, in manners mild, of a singular wit, very learned and eloquent, a great lover of Husbandry, peaceable, mercifull and bounteous, he neither in his youth did any thing rashly, nor in his age any thing negligently. In time of great famine which was in *Rome*, he provided for their wants, and maintained the people with bread and wine, the most of the time that the famine lasted; making victuals to be brought from all parts, and paying for the same at his own cost.

*Solus omnium principum sine civili sanguine fuit.* Carion.

Having reigned twenty and two yeares, seven moneths, and twenty six dayes, he dyed of a Fever at *Porium* the seventh of *March*, the year of his life 75. and of Christ 162.

23 Saith *Carion.*

70 *Carion.*

His death was generally lamented, and the Romans did him great honour, and made sacrifices to him, Canonizing him for a God, and building a Temple also to him.

# *Choyce Obſervations*
## Of
# LUCIUS COMMODUS VERUS,
## And
# ANTONINUS PHILOSOPHUS.

THere ſucceeded *Antoninus* the *Divi fratres*, the two adoptive Brethren, *Lucius Commodus Verus*, Son to *Ælius Verus*, (who delighted much in the ſofter kind of learning, and was wont to call the Poet *Martial* his *Virgil*,) & *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, whereof the latter who obſcured his Collegue, and ſurvived him long, was named the Philoſopher, who as he excelled all the reſt in learning, ſo he excelled them likewiſe in perfectiō of all royall vertues. Betwixt their natures and conditions was as much odds as between day and night; the one very moderate, loving, and induſtrious; the other proud, careleſs, and cruell; the fruits whereof the poor Chriſtians felt, whoſe chiefeſt Pillars, *Polycarpus* Biſhop of *Smyrna*, and *Iuſtin Martyr* an excellent Philoſopher, with infinite more were put to moſt cruell deaths.

This was the firſt time wherein the Roman Empire was governed by two *Auguſti*; *Domitian* was *Titus* his Aſſociate, yet was he not called or accounted *Auguſtus* until the death of his Brother *Titus*: but now two Emperours reigned at one and the ſelf-ſame time.

After his death the whole Government returned to *Antoninus Philoſophus* onely, whoſe Symbole was, *Regni Clementia cuſtos.*

*Vir quem mirari facilius quis quam laudare poſſ...*

He

He was Sur-named *the Philoſopher*, not onely for his knowledge, but alſo practice of Philoſophy; he had often in his mouth that ſpeech of *Plato*, *Tunc florent reſpublicæ, quando vel Philoſophus regit, vel Rex Philoſophatur.* This good Emperour poſſeſſed the Seat of Majeſty nineteen yeares and eleven dayes, wherein he alwayes approved himſelf in wit excellent, in life vertuous; very learned and eloquent, full of clemency, juſtice, and temperance, nothing inferiour to moſt of all the worthieſt Emperours before him, nor matchable in qualities by many of the Monarchs that followed him.

*ſit; à principio vitæ tranquilliſſimus, adeo ut in infantia quoque vultum nec ex gaudio nec ex mœrore mutaret.* Eutropius.

*Tantum Marco ſapientiæ, innocentiæ, ac literarum fuit, ut in Marcomannos, cum filio Commodo quem Cæſarem ſuffecerat, petiturus, Philoſophorum obteſtantium vi circumfunderetur; ne ſe expeditioni aut pugnæ prius committeret, quàm ſcitarum ardua & occulta explanaviſſet, &c.* Aurel. Victor.

He would not believe that *Avidius Caſsius* could ever have depoſed him; and his reaſon was, The Gods had greater care of him, then to let *Caſsius* wrong him undeſervedly, *Vulc. Gallicanus in vita Avidii Caſsii.*

*Iulian* the *Emperour* in his book intituled *Cæſares*, being a *Paſquil* or *Satyre* to deride all his predeceſſors, feigned that they were all invited to a banquet of the gods, and *Silenus* the *Ieſter* ſate at the lower end of the table, and beſtowed a ſcoffe on every one as they came in; but when *Antoninus Philoſophus* entred, he was gravelled and out of countenance, not knowing where to carpe at him, ſave at the laſt he gave a glance at his patience towards his wife.

When

When his Armies were even famished * for want of water, the Christians by their prayers procured wine from Heaven to their great refreshing, and the *Barbarians* were dashed with thunder and fire; whereupon he mitigated the rage against Christs Professors, and in his time the Church for the most part was in peace. He dyed the seventeenth day of March, in the year of our Lord 181. and of his own age, 59.

*Tertul.* in Apolog.

* The Christian Legion was after that time called *Fulminatrix.* Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.*

His Wife *Faustina* (by whose meanes partly he obtained the Empire) was a Princesse, but a lewd and wanton woman; one counselled him to put her away, but he answered, *Si uxorem dimittimus, reddamus & dotem*; choosing rather to have his house defiled then little.

# *Choyce Obſervations*

## OF

# COMMODVS.

HIS name agreed not with his diſpoſition, he being called *Commodus*, who was (ſaith * *Oroſius*) *cunctis incommodus*.

*l. 7. c. 6. *Semper incommodus* ſaith *Vopiſcus* in vita Taciti.

Concerning his birth there paſſeth this ſtory or fiction; His mother *Annia Valeria Fauſtina*, daughter of *Antoninus Pius*, and wife of *Antoninus Philoſophus*, when ſhe ſaw certain *Gladiators* or ſword-players going to fight, was monſtrouſly inflamed with the love of one of them, upon whom ſhe doted ſo extremely, that her affection was almoſt grown to phrenſy, languiſhing wherewith, ſhe confeſſed her love-madneſſe to her husband. He perceiving her diſtemper to increaſe, conſulted with the Chaldæans or ſooth-ſayers, what was beſt to be done in ſo deſperate a caſe, for the ſaving of his wives life, and the quenching of her unchaſt deſires. They after long conſideration determined, that there was left for her but one onely remedy, as ſtrange as the diſeaſe; *viz.* to cauſe the ſaid *Gladiator* to be murdered ſecretly that ſhe might not know of it, and that the next night that her husband intended to lye with her, a cup full of his luke-warm bloud

*Heywood* in his various hiſtory of women.

changed

* changed into the likeneſs of water ſhould be given her to drink, *ut ſeſe* * *ſublevaret*: which was performed accordingly, and ſhe cured of her diſeaſe, but with this bad ſucceſſe; for that night, as it is ſaid, ſhe was delivered of *Commodus*, who in qualities reſembled that *Gladiator* upon this occaſion, as ſome reported; which they aſcribed to the power of her imagination, but others eſteemed him a Baſtard. *Ferrand. of lovemelancholy* out of *Capitolinus* in *Antonino Philoſopho* c. 19. *editionis Gruteriana.*

* Caſaubonus *in Hiſtoriam Auguſtam.*

* *Neſcio quis primus* ſublavaret *hoc loco reposuit pro eo quod vetus editio & ſcripti codices habebant,* ſublevaret. *quam veram eſſe ſcripturam quovis pignore contendere ſum paratus. Non dicit autem quomodo ſublevaret ſe* Fauſtina *ſanguine illius gladiatoris occiſi. Quod de induſtria tacuit hic auctor, & modeſtis verbis mollivit horrendum medicationis genus. Non dubium certè eſt, pro remedio ſanguinem illum ebibiſſe* Fauſtinam, *atque ita ſe ſublevaſſe, &c.* Salmaſius *in* Hiſtoriam Auguſtam. *p.* 91.

The conjecture that *Commodus* was born in adultery, is confirmed by the behaviour of *Fauſtina* his mother at *Cajeta*, where ſhe was wont wantonly to gaze on naked gladiators and mariners. *Capitolinus ibid. Aurel. Victor.*

When his mother was with child with him and his twin-brother *Antoninus*, who dyed when 4. months old, ſhe dreamed that ſhe brought forth two Serpents, one whereof, *viz.* *Commodus*, as the event proved, exceeded in fierceneſs. *Lampridius* in *Commodo.* c. 1.

*Commodus* was more noble by deſcent then any of the former Emperours, and the moſt beautifull perſon of his time. *Herodian. l.* 1, in fine.

He

He was ſo excellent a marks-man, that he could hit with an arrow or dart whatſoever he aimedat, exceeding the moſt expert *Parthian* Archers, and *Numidian* Darters which he had about him. *Herodian l.* 1. *c.*15. *editionis Bœclerianæ.*

Once he ſhot forked arrowes at Moreſco Eſtriches, which were wonderfull ſwift of foot, uſing their wings as ſailes in running. Theſe he did hit ſo full in the neck, that though their heads were ſtruck off with the furiouſneſſe of the blow, yet they ran awhile headleſſe, as if they had not been hurt. *Id. ibid.*

ἔτι περιθεῖν αὐτὰς, ὡς μηδὲν παθούσας.

*Aliquandiu tamen viventibus ſimilem curſum continuabant,* ut Herodianum interpretatur *Politianus.*

*Neque hæc ſuperant veri fidem, cum inſtrumenta motus, ſpiritus ſcilicet vitales, aliquandiu motum continuare poſsint, non exhauſti uno temporis momento; quod colligunt medici è motu cordis anguillæ exſecti. Simile quid memini inter hiſtorias à nonnullis narratum, de quodam pyrata, qui interceptus cum ſuis ſociis navalibus hoc unum ſuppliciter petiit, ut ſociorum ſinguli vitæ redonarentur, quos capite truncus curſu præteriiſſet. Largitum hoc eſt ſupremis ejus votis: ſtans capite truncatur; curſum intendit, quem uſque ad poſtremos* ἀκέφαλος *continuaſſet, niſi a carnifice ac lictoribus adſtantibus in terram fuiſſet detractus.* P. Voet. *in Herodiani Marc. & Commod. p.* 183. *videſis* Fromondum *de Anima l.* 1. *c.* 4. *art.* 3. *p.* 97. *&c,*

Another time a *Panther* having faſtned upon a man, (who was brought into the liſts) ſo that all thought ſhe would inſtantly tear him in pieces; he darted at her ſo happily,

happily, that he killed the beast and saved the man, preventing the impression of her teeth with the point of his weapon.

φθάσας τῇ τοῦ δόρατος αἰχμῇ τὴν τῶν ὀδόντων ἀκμήν. *Herodian. l. 1. c. 15.*

[ *Alcon* seeing his son *Phalerus* (one of the Argonauts) sleeping on the grasse, and a Serpent creeping on his breast, slew the Serpent, and saved his son:

——— *Non sic libravit in hostem*
*Spicula, qui nato Serpentis corpore cincto*
*Plus timuit dum succurrit; dum jactibus iisdem*
*Interitum vitamq; daret; stabilemque teneret*
*Corde tremente manum; totamq; exiret in artē*
*Spe propiore metus; dans inter membra duorū*
*Vnius mortem.* ———

Sidonius Apollinaris *in paneg. Majoriani. videsis* Servium *in sextam Virgilii Eclogam.*]

See *Domitian* p. 113.

He slew also 100. Lyons with so many darts; their bodies falling in such order, that they might easily be numbered (not one dart miscarrying.) *Herodian ubi suprà.*

*He* resembled his Father in nothing but fortunate fighting against the Germans, with whom notwithstanding he made a dishonourable peace.

See *Nero* p. 68. and *Domitian* p. 114. &c.

He was faithfull to none; and most cruel to those whom he had before advanced to the greatest honours, and enriched with most vast rewards. *Sextus Aurelius Victor.*

*He* and *Heliogabalus* conferred all the dignities of the Empire upon men for lust and licentiousness most like unto themselves. *Walsinghams* Manuall.

He was the first Roman Emperour who through covetousnesse sold offices for mony;

ny; *Vespasian* had done it before him, but through necessity, finding the commonwealth in debt, and the treasure exhausted. *The History of Spain translated by Grimston.*

He killed some though innocent, instead of others who were guilty, and did let offenders escape for mony. *Lampridius* in *Comm.*

If any one had an enemy of whom he would be revenged, he needed but to bargain with *Commodus* for a summe of money to kill him. *Id. ibid.*

He pretended that he would go into *Africa*, that he might raise money for that feigned journey, which when he had gathered, he spent in banquetting and gaming. *Id. ibid.*

He was so careless in serious matters, that he wrote nothing more then *Vale* in many of his letters; and so serious in things of light or ill concernment, that he caused to be registred how often he frequented the fence-schoole, with all his cruelties and impurities. *Id. ibid.*

He employed not himself in any thing which became an Emperour; making glasses, dancing, singing, piping, playing the Buffoon and fencer; bathing 7. or 8. times in the day, eating in the Bath, drinking in the theatre in womans habit; mingling humane excrements with the daintiest fare, tasting them himself, thinking so to mock others. *Id. ibid.*

He kept 300. Concubines, and so many boyes

boyes which he used as women; like *Caligula* commanded women to be ravished in his sight, committed incest as he did with all his Sisters, and exceeded him (saith *Tristan*) in polluting the Temples with whoredome and human bloud.

* *Commod. Imperator, qui natus est eo die quo* Caligula; *tanquam eundem haberet horoscopum, & ipse sororesconstupravit, concubinasque suas sub oculis suis constuprari ab amicis jubebat.* Beroaldus *in Suetonium.* Caligulam *habuit velut exemplar quod imitaretur.* Id. Ibid.

His naturall incontinence was incredibly inflamed by divers sorts of ointments (used by him to preserve himself from the pestilence, whilest it reigned throughout Italy) which were of so hot and subtile a quality, that they excited in him the unquenchable flames of extraordinary lasciviousnesse. *Tristan.*

He was so cruell, that when he was but 12. yeares old, because the bath in which he was washed was a little too warm, he commanded that the heater of it should be cast into a furnace. *Lamprid. c. 1.*

*Dion* confidently reporteth that the Physicians poysoned his Father to gratify him.

He put to death his Wife *Crispina*, his eldest sister *Lucilla*, and *Annia Faustina* his Fathers Cousin German, with 24. of the Eminentest Personages of the Roman Empire.

*Lamprid. c. 10.* He commanded one to be cast to wild beasts, for reading the life of *Caligula* in *Suetonius*, because he had the same birthday with *Caligula*. *August. 31.*

His

His very jests were cruell; seeing one have white haires among black ones, he set on his head a starling, which thinking it picked wormes made festers. *Idibid.*

He cut a fat man off at the middle of the belly, that he might see his entrailes drop out suddenly. *Id. ibid.*

He called them *Monopodii* and *Luscinii* whom he deprived of a foot or eye.

He made men exercise that cruelty upon themselves in reality, which they used to act but in shew. *Lamprid. c. 9.*

*He* imitated Chirurgions in letting bloud, and barbers in trimming, under which pretence he cut off eares and noses: wherefore such was his jealousy of all men, that he was forced like *Dionysius* to be his own barber. *Xiphiline.* *Lamprid. c. 17.*

*H*istories not onely affirm, that he plaid the Gladiator in person, but his statue in that fashion stark naked, with his naked sword in his hand, is yet extant at *Rome* in the Farnesian palace.

Neronis *insania* Commodi *turpitudini per omnes flagitii gradus* ἀντίστροφος *est: egregium sc. par,* princeps histrio & gladiator. *Bœclerus.* See *Nero* p. 75.

*H*e imitated *Nero* in driving of Chariots, and if *Quintus Æmylius Latus* had not deterred him, he would have burned *Rome* (as *Nero* did) thinking he might do what he pleased with that place which he called after his name.

So exceeding great was the madness of this vile monster, that he sent a letter to the Senate with this style: *Imperator Cæsar Lucius, Ælius, Aurelius, Commodus, Antoninus, Augustus, Pius, Fœlix, Sarmaticus, Germa-*

nicus Maximus, Britannicus, pacator orbis terrarum, Invictus, Romanus Hercules, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitiæ potestatis, XVIII. Imperator, VIII. Consul, VII. Pater Patriæ, Consulibus, Prætoribus, Tribunis Plebis, Senatuiq; * Commodiano fœlici Salutem. Xiphilin.

The former Emperours at pleasure sometimes took some few names to themselves, sometimes bestowed them on others. In the later times, vertue decaying, ambition in titles increased. Yet *Iustinian* accounted of as a sober Emperour, hath his style notwithstanding not much shorter. *Imp. Cæsar Flavius* Justinianus, *Alemannicus*, *Gothicus*, *Francicus*, *Germanicus*, *Anticus*, *Alanicus*, *Vandalicus*, *Africanus*, *Pius*, *Fœlix*, *Inclytus victor*, *ac Triumphator semper Augustus*. S^r. H. Savil on *Tacitus*.

He changed the names of all the moneths, calling them after his own sur-names, which was observed no longer then he lived.

He ever and anon changed all his surnames, except that of *Amazonius*, taken up out of love to *Marcia* his Concubine, whose picture he wore upon the outside of his garment; and of *Exuperans*, because he would have been thought to excell all men: as appeareth by his being sacrificed to as a God.

When his Favourite *Perennis* was dead, he repealed many things that were done by him, but persisted not above 30 dayes in his reformation, permitting *Cleander* to be more licencious then *Perennis*. *Lamprid.*

Yea

Yea to such drunken dotage he was grown, that he refused his fathers name, commanding himself in stead of *Commodus* the son of *Marcus*, to be styled *Hercules* the son of *Iupiter*; and accordingly he forsook the Roman and Imperiall habit, and in stead thereof, thrust himself into a Lions skin, and carried a great club in his hand: and (which made him extremely ridiculous) he put on also purple *Amazonian* robes embroydered with gold; expressing in one and the same garb austerity and effeminateness: this was his daily attire.

*Quid mirum si Commodus Herculem se vocari voluit, cum id fecerit Alexander præceptis imbutus Aristotelis?* Athenæus.

He commanded many Statues of himself made in likeness of *Hercules*, to be erected throughout the City, and one before the Senate-house in form of an archer ready to shoot; that his very Images might strike a terror into the beholders. *Herodian.*

He ranged so far in a mad humour, as that he purposed to forsake his palace, and live in a fence-school; and now being weary of the name of *Hercules*, he assumed the name of a famous sword-player deceased.

On New-yeares day he determined, in great solemnity to issue forth of a fence-school, from which *Marcia*, *Lætus*, and *Electus* dissuaded him; but he incensed with them, commanded them to depart, and retiring into his bed-chamber, to repose himself at noon (as he was wont,) he wrote their names in a table-book, dooming them to death that night. Having done this, he laid his table-book on the pallet, not imagining

that any would enter into his chamber.

*Multos præceres parâvere interimere, quod per parvulum quendam proditum est, qui tabulam è cubiculo ejecit.* Lamprid. *videsis Gruterum.*

But his darling *Philo-Commodus* being full of play, went (as he usually did) into the bed-chamber (while *Commodus* was bathing) and taking the book to play with, went forth, and was met by *Marcia*; who took the book from him, lest he might spoil some weighty matter. As soon as she perceived it was *Commodus* his own hand, she greatly desired to read it. But when she found the deadly contents, she discovered to *Electus* and *Lætus* the danger they were in, and they all resolved to purchase their own security by *Commodus* his death, and concluded it most convenient to dispatch him by poyson; which *Marcia* having given to him, it cast him into a slumber, out of which awaking he vomited extremely: the conspirators fearing fulnesse might expell the poyson, cause him to be strangled.

He lived 31. yeares, 4. moneths, and reigned 12. yeares, 9. moneths and 14. dayes. In him the *Ælian* together with the *Aurelian* family was extinguished, as the *Iulian* in *Nero*. *Tristan.*

How joyfull his death was both to Senate and people, their assemblies in the Temples to give thanks for their deliverance, and their execrations pronounced against him, at large reported by *Lampridius*, do manifest.

He was called *the enemy of God and men*; the very name of the Devil.

The Christians escaped persecution from him

him by the mediation of *Marcia*, who favoured their doctrine. *Dion.*

Of all Emperours until *Constantine* he was most favourable unto Christians, whatsoever he was otherwise. *Mountague's* Acts and Monuments of the Church. *c. 7. paragr.* 115.

In respect of much persecution before, those times were called *Halcyonia sub Commodo Ecclesiæ. Lloid's* consent of time, p. 599.

*Commodus insequitur, pugnis maculosus arena;*
*Threicio princeps bella movens gladio.*
*Eliso tandem persolvens gutture pœnas,*
*Criminibus fassus matris adulterium.*
Ausonius.

# OF PERTINAX.

AS so called, either for his reluctance in accepting the Empire, or rather for his *pertinacious* resolution in his youth to be a Woodmonger, as his father was, when he would have made him a Scholar.

Yet at last he was perswaded by his father to apply himself to learning, in which he was such a proficient, that he succeeded his Master *Sulpitius Apollinaris* in the teaching of Grammer: But gaining little thereby, he served in the camp with such proof of his valour, that upon the death of *Commodus* he was chosen Emperour. For the murther being done in the night, *Lætus* went in all hast to *Pertinax*, and saluted him with the unexpected name of Emperour; but he thought *Lætus* was sent from *Commodus* to kill him, till he was certified of *Commodus* his death, by one of his servants whom he sent to view his carkase.

See *Claudius* in initio.

So different was the opinion of all men concerning *Pertinax* and *Commodus*, that many hearing of *Commodus* his death, thought the report was raised by himself to try mens inclinations; wherefore many Governours of Provinces imprisoned those who

who related it, not becauſe they would not have had the news to be true, but for that they thought it more dangerous to believe the death of *Commodus*, then not to come in to *Pertinax*, by whom every one was confident that they ſhould be eaſily pardoned, whereas with *Commodus* innocence gave no ſecurity. *Excerpta Peireſci.* p. 728.

*Pertinax* was forced to accept of the Empire by *Lætus* and *Electus*, when he was above 60. yeares old; yet admitted not any ſymbole of ſovereignty, and declined ſo envious a Title, till compelled by the Senate. *Recuſabat imperare; quod erat bene imperaturi.* Plinius *de Trajano. panegyr.* 5.

He chiefly refuſed the Empire, becauſe he was to ſucceed a Tyrant, who by his diſorders hâd ſo impoveriſht the State, and rendred the ſouldiers ſo looſe, that he ſaw 'twas impoſſible to avoid a publik odium, by the uſe of a neceſſary remedy. *Triſtan.*

He would not let his wife receive the title of Empreſſe, nor his ſon be called *Cæſar*, as the Senate had decreed, leſt he ſhould be corrupted, but deferred it till he might deſerve it; nor admitting him being a youth into the Court, but cauſing him to lead a private life.

He permitted not his Name to be ſtamped on the peculiar goods of the Emperours, ſaying, *That the propriety thereof belonged to the State in generall.* Herodian l. 2. c. 4. As *Marcus Aurelius*, whom he imitated, ſaid to the Senate; *Nos uſque adeo nihil*

*habemus proprium, ut etiam veſtras ædes habitemus.* Xiphilinus *in Marco Aurelio.*

He enacted that all the waſt ground in *Italy* and other countries (though of the Princes demeſne) ſhould be improved, and freely given to them who would manure it: to which purpoſe, he granted to *Husbandmen* 10. yeares immunity from all taxes, and ſecurity from all further trouble during his reigne. *Herodian.*

He baniſht informers, preſerved the commoners from the injury of ſouldiers, and releaſed all Impoſts exacted by Tyrants. *Id.*

He never could be induced to revenge an injury. *S. A. Victoris Epitome.*

He was too negligent of his wife *Flavia Titiana's* chaſtity, who openly loved a fidler; he in the mean time being as ardently and infamouſly enamoured on his Concubine *Cornificia. Capitolinus c. 13.*

*He* was called χρηστολόγος, a giver of good words, becauſe he was rather a Fawning than a kind Prince; promiſing well but performing ill.

Such was his niggardlineſs, that he would ſet before his gueſts a Sallad of Lettuce, &c. and part of a Tripe; but if he at any time exceeded, a leg or wing of a *Hen. Capitolinus c.* 12.

*Triſtan* parallelleth him with *Veſpaſian.*

*His* ſtrict diſcipline and ſhort donatives diſpleaſed the ſouldiers, who conſpired againſt him, and elected *Falco* Emperour, whom

whom the Senate ſentenced, but *Pertinax* cryed out, *God forbid, that during my reigne any Senatour be put to death, though deſervedly.* Xiphiline.

*Lætus* pretending to puniſh this ſedition, cauſeth the death of divers ſouldiers, that the reſt might mutiny, which they did, 200. entring the palace with drawn ſwords, whom *Pertinax* was adviſed to flye from: but he indiſcreetly rejecting that good counſell, met them, thinking with his Majeſty to make them afraid and leave off their enterpriſe, which fell out accordingly, for immediately they all retreated, except one *Tauſius* a Tungrian, who ran him into the breaſt, ſaying, *Hunc tibi gladiũ milites mittunt.*

*Dion* cenſureth him thus, *Non norat homo multarum rerum peritus, multa ſimul tutò corrigi non poſſe: ſed ſi quid aliud in rebus humanis, tum imprimis reipublicæ conſtitutionem & tempus & ſapientiam requirere.*

He having endured all manner of labours, & being bandied from one extreme condition to another, was called the *Tenniſball of Fortune.*

He lived 67. years lacking 4. months and 3. dayes, and reigned 87. dayes, ſaith *Dion.*

Pertinacis *Principatus ſolo tempore minor eſt optimi cujuſq; Principis regimine,* ſaith *Bæclerus.*

*Helvi, judicio & conſulto lectæ Senatus,*
*Princeps decretis prodite, non ſtudiis.*
*Quod docuit maleſida cohors, errore probato,*
*Curia quod caſtris ceſſerat Imperio.*
Auſonius.

*Choyce*

# *Choyce Observations*

## OF

# JULIANUS.

SOuldiers proclaiming the sale of he Empire, *Julians* wife and his rdaughters with some Parasites, nrged him to accept of the proffer, since he could exceed any in largesses. *Herodian l. 2. c. 6.*

*Sulpitian* Father-in-law to *Pertinax* offered each Souldier 200. Crownes, but *Julian* outbidding him, and promising more then they demanded or expected, obtained the Empire of them, who feared lest *Sulpitian* might revenge *Pertinax* his death, as his Competitor suggested to them. *Xiphiline.*

He entered the City, all the Souldiers calling him Emperour, the Citizens neither daring to resist, nor yet approving the election by joyfull acclamations, as the custome was to other Emperours; but cursing him and throwing stones at him. *Herodian ubi suprà.*

He being hated, *Syria* elected *Niger*, *Germany* chose *Severus* Emperour, who took *Albinus* as partner.

The rise of these 3. Commanders, with the fall of *Julian*, was prognosticated by the appearance of 3. Stars about the Sun (while *Julian* sacrificed) conspicuous to all but the

See the *Advertisement.* pag 21.

the flattering pur-blind Senators. *Xiphiline.*

A boy also divining by a looking-glasse, saw *Severus* his advance and *Julians* departure. *Spartian c.7.*

*Severus* hasting to *Rome* was met by Embassadors from *Julian* with the offer of half the Empire; which he refused, and was by the Senate (who lately proclaimed him Traitor) declared Emperour.

The souldiers discontented becaus *Julian* kept not his Covenant, and hoping to purchase favour with *Severus*, slew their Chapman in his palace; he thus expostulating with them, *Quid rei gravis admisi? quem interfeci?*

*Severus* who had been acquitted by him from the imputation of Adultery, wherewith he was charged, slew him with the like ingratitude, as *Julian* did *Lætus*, who had saved his life. *Tristan.*

He lived 60. yeares, 4. moneths, and so many dayes; and reigned 66. dayes. *Dion.*

*Orosius, ab initio Pertinacis ad finem Iuliani, annum unum absumptum fuisse dicit, senis mensibus utriusque Imperio imputatis. Quod falsum est; vix enim dimidium anni inter initium Pertinacis & Severi interjectum est.* Scaliger *in Eusebium.*

He being old, honourable and rich, by the purchase of the Empire lessened his estate, impaired his credit, and lost his life.

*Dii bene, quod spoliis Didius non gaudet opimis;*
*Et citò perjuro præmia dempta seni.*
*Tuq; Severe pater titulum ne horresce novantis;*
*Non rapit Imperium vis tua, sed recipit.*
Ausonius.

Choyce

# *Choyce Observations* OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

*Xiphiline* in Commod.

HE was one of the 25. Consuls made in one year by *Cleander Commodus* his favourite.

*Xiphiline.*

He was an *African*, of so low birth, that, when he enrolled himself into the family of *Marcus Aurelius*, one *Pollenius Sebennus* is reported to have said, *O Cæsar, I congratulate thy fortune, that thou hast found a Father:* as if he had not had a Father before, his original being so

*Tristan.*

base and obscure; reflecting hereby also upon the chastity of his mother.

Having ascended from mean estate to the highest honour, he was wont to say; *Omnia fui, nihil expedit.* Spartian *in Severo c.* 18.

*Xiphiline.*

He dreamed that he saw in one of the market-places at *Rome* a horse to throw *Pertinax*, who had mounted on him, and to suffer himself to back him; a brasse Image

*Herodian. l. 2. c. 9.*

of which dream remained in *Herodians* time.

He was expert in the Mathematiques, a good Philosopher, and eloquent oratour.

Nothing is comparable to *Severus* his conflicts or conquests, either for multitude of forces, commotion of countries, num-

ber

ber of battels, length of journeyes, or ſpeed in marches. *Herodian l. 3.*

His ſouldiers endured all difficulties cheerfully in emulation of him, who excited them to hardſhip by his own example, being wont as *Silius Italicus* ſaith of *Hannibal*:

——— *vertice nudo*
*Excipere inſanos imbres, cœlique ruinam.*

He was ſo inured to continual action, that even at his laſt gaſp he ſaid; *Is there any thing for me to do?* Xiphiline.

In ſtead of puniſhing he entertained and rewarded *Priſcus* an Engineer, who did him moſt miſchief in his ſiege of *Byzantium*. *Xiphiline.*

Entring into *Alexandria* he found this inſcription, *Domini Nigri eſt urbs*; with which being offended, the inhabitants met him, crying, *Novimus nos dixiſſe Domini Nigri eſſe urbem; tu enim es Nigri Dominus.* For which ready excuſe he pardoned them. *Suidas* in Σεπτ.

When certain of his Officers went about to perſwade him to raſe out an Epigramme made in commendation of *Niger*, (at the baſis of whoſe ſtatue it was engraved) he expreſſed his diſlike by theſe words; *Si talis fuit, ſciant omnes qualem vicerimus; ſi talis non fuit, putent omnes nos viciſſe talem: immo ſic ſit, quia fuit talis.* ingenuouſly and wiſely confeſſing the worth of his enemy. *Spartianus in Nigro c.* 12.

When he was Lieutenant in *Africke*, one of

of his inferiour acquaintance met him going in state with his bundle of rods carried before him, and embraced him familiarly as his *quondam* chamber-fellow; whom he caused to be beaten, the cryer proclaiming, *Embrace not rudely a Roman Lieutenant.* From which time Lieutenants have not gone on foot. *Spartian.*

*Plautian* his favourite was so great with him, that one of *Plautians* Officers being commanded by *Severus*, then at leisure, to plead a cause, refused, saying, *He could not do it unless* Plautian *commanded him.* Xiphiline.

At the siege of *Atra*, when he had beaten down a great part of the wall, and his Souldiers were ready to enter, he commanded a retreat, hoping thereby to induce the *Arabians* to discover that great treasure there laid up. But his covetous designe was miserably disappointed, for the besieged immediately made up their wall and kept him out. *Xiphiline.*

Being used to get the victory, he now reputed himself conquered, because he could not overcome. *Herodian l. 3. c. 9.*

When one who lived in *Albinus* his quarters, would have excused his forced assistance of him to *Severus*, demanding what he would have done if it had been his own case; *Severus* answered, *Ea perferrem quæ tu, I would suffer as you do. Aurel. Vict.*

He boasted to the Senate of his clemency, although he slew at one time 40. of the most Illustrious personages of the Roman Empire,

pire, not hearing them in their defence, contrary to a Law which himself first made; proving himself thereby truly to answer his name, being (as was said of him) *verè Pertinax, verè Severus*: so that *Silenus* might well say, (in *Iuliani Cæsaribus*) *I dare not speak against him, I am so terrified with his inexorable cruelty.*

*Io. Antiochenus* saith he was a great Souldier, but his covetousnesse transported him beyond his valour.

He was more covetous and cruell then any of his Predecessors. *Tristan.*

When he warred in *Britain*, he commanded an universall slaughter of his enemies, in these verses:

------ μήτις ὑπεκφύγοι αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον
Χεῖρας θ' ὑμετέρας, μηδ' ὄντινα γαστέρι μήτηρ
Κοῦρον ἐόντα φέροι.

*Let none escape your bloudy rage,*
*With terrour let all die;*
*Spare not the mother, nor the babe*
*Which in her womb doth lie.*

Having taking *Albinus* prisoner, he commanded him to be slain, caused his body to be laid before his palace, rode over him, and at last cast his mangled corps (the stench whereof could not be endured) into the river *Rhosne*, with the carkases of his wife and children.

Having compelled *Nigers* Captaines (whose children he kept as pledges) to betray *Nigers* affaires, when he had attained his

*Herodian l.3.c.2.& 5.* Of his vertues and vices, but

especially his dissimulation, see *Brochmands Ethica Hist.* c. 8.

his ends, he slew them and their children.

He gained his sur-name *Britannicus*, by building, or at least repairing the *Picts*-wall between *England* and *Scotland*, 132. miles in length, against the incursions of the *Scots* and *Picts*. At every miles end was a tower, and pipes of brasse (in the wall betwixt every tower) conveied the least noise from garison to garison, without interruption; so newes of an approching enemy was quickly spred over the borders, and occasionall provision made for resistance. There were also resting places for the *Areans*, who were appointed by the Ancients (saith *Amm. Marcellinus*) to serve for foot-posts, to run as occurrents fell between the Officers, and carry them word of the least stirring. Since the wall is ruined, and that way of dispatch taken away, many inhabitants thereabout hold land by a tenure in *Cornage* (as Lawyers speak) being bound by blowing a horn to discover the irruption of the enemy. *Cambden's Britannia. ubi videsis plura.*

It is reported by *Spartian*, that in his passage to *York* a little before his death, a Black-Moor with a *Cypresse* garland on his head did meet *Severus*, (who bid him, as unfortunate, to be put out of his sight) and saluted him thus; *Totum fuisti, totum vicisti, jam Deus esto victor.* At his entrance into the City, he was by errour of a rusticall Soothsayer (who guided him) brought into the Temple

Temple of *Bellona*: and black beasts, being appointed for sacrifice, did of themselves follow him to his palace. Which things, howsoever they fell our accidentally, yet were interpreted as ominous by others in respect of the event.

While he lay sick of the gout at *York*, the souldiers saluting his son *Bassianus* Emperour, he arose and caused the principall of them to be brought before him, and when they prostrate craved pardon, he laying his hand on his head, said, *Sentitisne tandem caput imperare, non pedes?* Spartian c. 18.

A little before his death he caused his urne to be brought before him, and taking it into his hand, said; *Thou shalt contain him whom the world could not.* Xiphiline.

He said to his Sons on his death-bed, *Agree among your selves, enrich the souldiers, and contemne all others.* Id. ibid.

In relation to which union he bade them read in *Salust*, *Mycipsa's* dying speech to his sons, in which there is this expression; *Concordiâ res parvæ crescunt, discordiâ magnæ dilabuntur.* Spartian. c. 21.

By his pernicious advice to his sons to study onely the enriching of the souldiery, he made a breach in the impenetrable wall of the Roman power, as the *Greek* Epigrammatist calls it. For after *Severus* his raigne, for 30 lawfull Emperours, the Roman Empire saw in the space of 150 yeares, more then an 100 Tyrants. The discipline of the vertuous Emperours occasioning the

wicked ones to mount on the throne. As the tragicall ends of young *Gordian*, of *Alexander Severus*, of *Posthumus*, *Probus* and *Aurelian* manifest. *Tristan.*

He ended his life with these words, *Turbatam Rempublicam ubique accepi, pacatam etiam Britannis relinquo, senex & pedibus æger, firmum Imperium Antoninis meis relinquens si boni erunt, imbecillum si mali.* Spartian *c.* 23.

Before he dyed he was so pained in all his body, but especially in his feet, that not able to endure the torment, he called for poyson, which being denied, he greedily glutted himself with grosse meates, and not able to digest them, dyed of a surfet. *Sex. Aurel. Vict.*

The imprecation of *Plautius Quintillus* had the like effect upon *Severus*, as that of *Severianus* had upon *Hadrian. Xiphilin.*

Some say he dyed rather through grief for his son *Caracalla's* wickednesse, then of any other malady.

He lived 65 yeares, 9 moneths and 25 dayes, and reigned 17 yeares, 8 moneths and 3 dayes.

He was buried in a place near *York*, which to this day is called *Severs-hill.*

It was said of him by the Senate, that either he should not have been born, or not have dyed; having done so much mischief in pursuit of greatnes, and so much good when he was established. *Spartian. c.* 18.

He married *Martia*, and after her death *Iulia Domna*, because he found by her nativity

tivity she should be matcht with a King; though he foresaw not by his art his destiny to marry a whore; whom yet he bare with through excesse of affection, though she was guilty of a conspiracy. *Spartian.* c. 3. and 18.

He was deifyed after his death by the Senate.

After the death of *Charles* the 9 of *France*, his image was laid in a rich bed, in triumphant attire, with the Crown upon his head, and the collar of the order about his neck, and 40 dayes at ordinary houres, dinner and supper was served in with all accustomed ceremonies, as sewing, water, grace, carving, &c. all the Cardinals, Prelats, Lords, Gentlemen and Officers attending in far greater solemnity, then if he had been alive. Now this I confesse was a piece of *flattery* more then needed, but not comparable to that of the *Romans*, in making their Emperours *Gods*, which they might well have conceived, was neither in the power of the one to give, nor of the other to receive. Dr. *Hakewill* in his Apology.

In *Severus* his reigne the world was so loose that 3000 were indicted for Adultery. *Id. ib.*

When *Julia* blamed the wife of *Argentocoxus* a Northern *Britain*, because her country people accompanied promiscously (10 or 12 men having 2 or 3 Women common among them) she not ignorant of the *Roman* incontinency, replied; *We accom-*

*pany openly with the best, but vile persons defile you secretly.* Xiphiline.

*Dion* writeth that in *Severus* his time it rained silver at *Rome* in *Augustus* his forum.

*O pluviam salutarem, & supparem illi, quâ Iupiter ad Danaen suam penetravit! sed nimis hic infrequentem inquies. Sed avaritiam tuam efferveſcentem infusâ hac frigidâ confutabo.* Rore illo argenteo, *addit Dion*, nummos aliquot æreos oblivi, manſit color 3 dies; 4^to. quicquid oblitum fuerat, evanuit. *Fromondus Meteorolog. l. 5. c. 6. Art. 3.*

*Severus* cauſed the 5. perſecution, it being the Devils policy to employ eſpecially men noted for morall honeſty and abilities, to maſſacre Gods Saints, that the world might believe, that thoſe could not chooſe but be moſt abomiable, whom ſuch wiſe and pious men were ſo earneſt to extinguiſh. D^r. *Prideaux.*

*Impiger egelido movet arma* Severus *ab Iſtro,*
*Vt parricidâ regna adimat Didio.*
*Punica origo illi; ſed qui virtute probaret*
*Non obſtare locum, quum valet ingenium.*
Auſonius.

*Choyce*

# PESCENNIUS NIGER, And CLODIUS ALBINUS } Usurpers.

ENgaged both in the war againſt *Septimius Severus*, with like unfortunate event being both conquered, and having their heads ſet upon a pole; *Niger* had his name *à nigra cervice*, ſaith *Spartian* in his life.

*Albinus* was ſo called, *quod, exceptus utero, contra conſuetudinem puerorum qui naſcuntur, & ſolent rubere, eſſet candidiſsimus.* *Capitolinus* in his life; who confirmeth his relation with this paſſage in an Epiſtle of *Cejonius Poſthumius* (Father of *Albinus*) to *Ælius Baſsianus* then Proconſul of *Africk*. *Filius mihi natus eſt, ita* candidus *ſtatim toto corpore, ut* linteamen *quo exceptus eſt, vinceret. Quare ſuſceptum eum* Albinorum *Familiæ, quæ mihi tecum communis eſt, dedi*, Albini *nomine impoſito.*

*Niger* was overthrown at the firſt encounter of his party with *Severus*, through the treachery of *Æmilianus* his General, as it was thought; and in the next fight in which

he engaged perſonally was totally defeated, near the Bay of *Iſſus*, where *Alexander the Great* vanquiſhed *Darius*.

*Albinus* warred with *Severus*, for withholding the copartner-ſhip which he promiſed to *Albinus*, whom he feared becauſe he was a valiant Souldier, whereas he ſlighted *Julian* and *Niger*, who were negligent and luxurious.

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# *Choyce Observations*

Of

BASSIANUS CARACALLA. } Brethren.
And
ANTONINUS GETA. }

*Bassianus* was so called from *Julius Bassianus* his Grand-father by the Mothers side, and his Father named him *Antoninus*, out of respect to the *Antonini*, whose memory was honoured by the Romans.

He was called *Caracalla* from a new fashioned cassock he wore, reaching down to his ancles. See *Caligula* P. 49.

He was a hopefull youth, & endeared himself to the people by weeping and turning away his eyes, when condemned persons were cast to wild beasts, (which tenderness *Baronius* thinketh proceeded from his Christian nurse *Euhodia*) yet after he was so changed he seemed not the same. *Spartian* c. 12.

Knowing well that he could not make himself seem more beautifull then he was, he would take the advantage to appear more terrible, affecting a cruell and furious countenance. *Tristan.* in the 2 part of his *Commentaires Historiques.* See the 12.18.21. 26.29.31. Medails of him there. See *Caligula* P. 55.

He attempted to kill his Father;& put to death the Physicians for not hastening his death (as he commanded;) slew his Father in law *Plautian*, his wife *Plautilla*, and her brother *Plautus*, *Antipater* the famous Sophister of that age, *Cilo* his Tutor, and *Euhodus* his Foster-father: sparing not any who either honoured his father, or was honoured by him.

When at the Circensian sports (where himself was a spectator) the people cast some scoffe at a chariotier which he favoured, he taking it as an affront to himself, suddenly commanded his souldiers to rush among the multitude, and kill all who had scorned the chariot-driver. Upon this command, it being impossible to find out the delinquents in so great a throng (none confessing himself guilty) the souldiers spared none whom they light upon, but either slew them, or took away what they had for a ransome. *Herodian l. 3. c. 6.*

He put down *Aristotles* Schooles, burnt his books, saying he conspired against *Alexander*. *Xiphiline.*

*Andr. Schottus l 3 observ. Human. c 19* hath collected a Catalogue of those *who said they resembled* Alexander the Great.

Having seen the body of *Alexander* the Great, he commanded his followers to call him *Alexander* and *Antoninus Magnus*; and by flatterers was brought to a fond conceit, that he walked like *Alexander* with an awfull countenance, and bent his head to the left shoulder; and whatever he observed in the countenance of *Alexander*, he imitated to the life, and perswaded himself

ſelf that he had the ſame lineaments and proportions. *Sext. Aur. Victor.* vide *Schottum.*

I have ſeen divers ridiculous Images, which had one entire Body; and one Head, which had 2. half-faces, to wit, *Alexanders* and *Antonines*; ſaith *Herodian.* l. 4. c. 8.

He was exceſſively given to Adultery, while able, yet moſt ſeverely puniſhed it in others. *Excerpta Peireſci. p.* 755.

Being unable to weare true armour through his weakneſs of body, he wore counterfeit harneſſe that none might attempt to aſſaſſinate him. *Excerpta Peireſci.*

*Fuit ejus immanitatis, ut iis præcipuè blandiretur quos ad necem deſtinabat: ut ejus magis blandimentum timeretur quàm iracundia.*

He would ſhew courteſy when he intended miſchief; ſo that his kindneſs was more feared then his anger. *Spartian in Geta c.* 7. See *Commodus* p. 142.

Having miſerably impoveriſhed the people, his mother reproved him, to whom he ſhewing his naked ſword, replied; *As long as I have this, I will not want*, Xiphiline.

Where he wintered, or but intended to winter, he cauſed *Amphitheaters* and *Cirques* for publique games to be erected, and within a while to be taken down again. *Id. ibid.*

He learned the vices of 3 Nations from whom he drew his original; of the *French*, vanity, timorouſneſs, and idleneſs; of the *Africans*, roughneſs and wildneſs; of the *Syrians*, cunning and malice. *Excerpta Peireſci.*

He

He preferred *Hannibal*, *Sylla*, and *Tiberius*, before other commanders for their cruelty; in which he exceeded his father, and all the preceding Emperours.

He confessed that in all his life he never learned to do good. *Xiphiline.*

When *Maximinus* the younger (yet a child) got up into *Caracall'as* Chariot, and was hardly drawn thence, there were some who admonished *Caracalla* to beware of him, to whom he answered, *Longè est ut mihi succedat iste. Capitolinus in Maximino juniore, c.4.*

[ *Tiberius* in like manner when he knew that *Galba* should be Emperour, but not before old age, said; *Vivat sanè quando id ad nos nihil pertinet. Suetonius in Galba. c.4.*]

He delighted more in Magicians and Juglers then in men of worth; for seeing himself hated, he told the Romans he could command his own security, though not their love; and therefore he lesse valued reproches, or feared dangers by their disfavour. *Xiphiline, Zonaras.*

Yet *Oppian* who when banished by *Severus* wrote the *Cynegeticks*, and after his decease dedicated that work to *Caracalla*, was therefore recalled from exile, and received a piece of gold for every verse in his Poem.

*In Parthia quid gesserit, aliter* Herodianus, *aliter* Dio *narrat. Certum tamen est eum*

As *Caligula* having kild many *French* and *Greeks*, bragged that he had conquered *Gallo-Græcia*: so *Caracalla* having perfidiously slain a great number of *Germans* and *Parthians*, usurped the titles of *Germanicus* and *Parthicus*

*Parthicus. Triſtan* in his parallel of *Caracalla* with *Caligula.*

Being incenſed againſt the *Alexandrians*, who traduced him for his fratricide, and nick-named his mother *Iocaſta*, he commanded the ſtrongeſt of them to be liſted for ſervice; whom when he had enrolled, he killed, after the example of *Ptolomeus Euergetes*, the 8 of that name, called *Phyſcon*; giving moreover a ſignal to the ſouldiers to kill their hoſts.

*etiam illic perfidia truculenta potius quam virtute graſſatum.* Jacobus Capellus *in 5. Centuriis.*

He reſtored all profligate perſons who were exiled, to their liberty; and preſently after filled the Ilands whither they were baniſhed with more exiles. *Xiphiline.*

He ſlew his brother *Geta* in his mothers armes, whom he forced to diſſemble mirth; He conſecrated the ſword wherewith he kild him ſequeſtred their goods in whoſe wills *Geta's* name was found, and ſlew 20000 perſons related to him; ſpending whole nights in ſuch tragicall executions. *compare Dion with Herodian.*

*Baronius* produceth a Medail of *Severus* with *Caracalla* and *Geta's* heads on the reverſe, and theſe words, *Concordia perpetua.*

To cloke which fratricide with ſhew of conſtraint, firſt to the ſouldiers, and then in the Senate, he accuſed his brother to have ſought his death, and that in defence of himſelf he was forced to kill him; and thereupon fled to the Prætorian bands for ſafety of his life, as though further conſpiracies had been intended againſt him in the City.

Notwithſtanding which cruelty he arrogated to himſelf the name of *Pius*, and after, conquering

conquering the *Germans*, he was not ashamed of the title *Germanicus*, though through the ambiguity of the word he might be thought to boast of his brothers murder. *Hemelarius.*

He allowed *Geta* a good funerall, buried him in a stately monument built by *Severus*, called *Septizonium*; wept as often as he saw his picture, or heard mention of his name: and being told that his Fratricide might be expiated in some degree by calling his brother a God, he answered; *Sit Divus modò non sit vivus.* Spartian *in Geta. c.* 3.

For the murther of his brother he was punished with madness by the Furies, deservedly called *Vltrices Deæ.*

Affrighted with the Ghost of his Father and *Commodus*, he prohibited any upon pain of death to name *Geta*; and broke the mony stamped with his effigies, and abolished all the playes instituted in honour of his birth-day.

By his Favourites, the name of *Geta* was raced out of all Monuments and Imperiall inscriptions, as we have seen some of them defaced upon some Altar stones found in *Britain. Speeds* Chron.

He slew *Papinian* the famous Lawyer, because sollicited by him to defend his Fratricide, he said; *It was a crime easily committed then excused.* Spartian *c.* 8.

He did chide the executioner, because he beheaded *Papinian* with an Axe, and not with a sword. *Spartian* in *Caracalla* c. 4. and in *Geta* c. 6. *Xiphiline.* When

When he ascribed to himself the titles of *Germanicus*, *Arabicus*, and *Alemannicus*, *Sarmaticus Maximus*, and *Parthicus Maximus*; *Helvius Pertinax* son to the Emperour *Pertinax* jestingly said, *Adde if you please Geticus Maximus*, because of his brother *Geta's* murther, and because the *Gothes* (whom he overcame in his passage to the East) are called *Getæ*; which occasioned *Pertinax* his death. *Spartian in Geta ubi suprà, & in Caracalla c.* 10.

Being in *Mesopotamia*, he writes to *Maternianus* to whom he committed command at *Rome*, to enquire of the Magicians, (to whom he was so addicted) whether any intended to surprize the Empire. *Maternianus* writes back that *Macrinus* treacherously aspired to the Empire; which letter with others *Caracalla* received while he was at his sport, and delivered them to *Macrinus* to give him an account of. *Macrinus* broke up the letters, and fell upon that which aimed at his destruction; wherefore finding his own danger, he reserved that letter to himself, acquainting *Caracalla* with the rest. But fearing lest *Maternianus* should write again of the same business, he resolved to prevent his imminent danger by this plot. He perswades *Martialis* a Centurion, and one of *Caracalla's* guard (whose brother the Emperour had slain a few dayes before, upon an accusation without proof) to dispatch him, which he did whilest the Emperour was about to ease nature.

When

When he went out of a certain gate, he heeded not the detaining of him, and tearing his garment by a Lion, whom he uſed to play with, and named *Acinaces*; who held him as it were by an extraordinary inſtinct, as if he foreknew the misfortune ready to befall him. *Dion.*

It was but juſt, that he who had killed ſo many of his friends, ſhould be ſlain by the treaſon of his enemies.

Both *Caligula* and *Caracalla* reigned but a little while. Both were killed by military Tribunes, the one by *Caſsius Charea*, whom he was wonted to taxe with effeminacy: and the other by *Martialis*, who was employed by *Macrinus*, whom *Caracalla* charged with the ſame fault. And which is wonderfull, they both dyed being 29. yeares old, and both their Aſſaſſinates were ſlain after them. *Triſtan* in his parallel of *Caracalla* with *Caligula.*

He reigned 6 yeares, 2 moneths and 2 dayes.

*Serapion* an Egyptian a few dayes before told him, that he ſhould dye ſhortly, and *Macrinus* ſhould ſucceed him: for which he was caſt to a Lion, and though the beaſt ſpared him, *Macrinus* would not. *Xiphiline.*

Both *Nero* and *Caracalla* dyed violent deaths, and both had for their ſucceſſors old men whom they loved not at all, and who reigned not long, being both ſlain by the practiſes of two effeminate perſons, who were *Otho* and *Heliogabalus.* *Triſtan*

*ſian* in his parallel of *Caracalla* with *Nero*.

When he was dead, it appeared that he procured as much poyſon from the inhabitants of upper *Aſia*, as coſt 220000 crowns, that he might poyſon ſeverall wayes as many as he pleaſed. *Xiphiline.*

It is to be admired, that a man ſo extremely wicked, tempered himſelf from ſlaughter of the Chriſtians.

His wife *Plautina* had as much for her dowry as would have ſerved 50 Empreſſes. Her Father *Plautian* made men Eunuchs, who were married and had children; and their children alſo were gelded, that ſhe might have muſick-maſters who might teach her the better, and domeſtiques of this ſort fitter to compoſe tunes for her.

*Diſſimilis virtute patri, & multò magis illi,*
*Cujus adoptivo nomine te perhibes;*
*Fratris morte nocens, punitus fine cruento,*
*In riſu populi tu* Caracalla *jaces.*
Auſonius.

*Choyce*

# Choyce Observations

## OF

## OPILIUS MACRINUS,

And his Son

## ANTONINUS DIADUMENVS.

*Macrinus* was of so obscure parentage, that according to the custome of the Moores, he had one of his eares bored thorough. *Xiphiline.*

He was made a præfect by *Caracalla*, after whose death he was elected Emperour by the Souldiers, who were ignorant of his treason, the suspicion whereof he escaped by a seeming sorrow.

The Romans were so glad of *Caracalla's* death, that they considered not whether *Macrinus* was good or bad; men who are injured, when they overcome their enemies, respect not so much their profit as revenge.

He associated with himself his son *Diadumenus*, so called either from his Grand-Father by the Mothers side, or because he was born with a Diadem on his head, like a bow-string. *Lamprid. in Diadumeno. c.* 4.

He commanded *Diadumenus* forthwith to be called *Antoninus* by the Souldiers, and assumed to himself the name of *Severus*, whose memory he pretended to reverence, that

that he might deface the ſuſpicion of aſſaſinating his Son.

He imitated *Marcus Aurelius* in a ſlow pace and low voice, and *Nero* in a cruell life.

Inſtead of *Macrinus*, he was by his own ſervants called *Macellinus*, as one would ſay Butcher, *quòd* macelli *ſpecie domus ejus cruentaretur ſanguine vernularum.* Becauſe his houſe was like a ſhamble of murthered men. *Capitolinus in Macrino. c. 13.*

He was named *Mezentius*, becauſe like him he joyned live bodies to dead.

He commanded 2. ſouldiers, who had raviſhed their hoſteſſes maid, to be ſewed up in the bellies of 2. great Oxen, their heads onely left out, that they might ſpeak one to another.

He cauſed thoſe ſouldiers who committed Adultery to be tyed to the women, and burnt alive; though his Wife *Nonia Celſa* was inſatiable that way.

He ſhut live men in ſeiled walls, where they dyed miſerably.

*Mothe le Vayer* in his *Opuſcules* p. 27. &c. thinketh that one reaſon why *Macrinus* baniſhed *Lucius Priſcillianus* a valiant Captain into an Iſland where he dyed, was becauſe he had the boldneſſe to encounter alone 4. ſuch fierce beaſts, as a Bear, a Leopard, a Lyoneſſe and a Lyon; though his cruell carriage under *Caracalla* who advanced him, afforded ſufficient pretence for his puniſhment, as *Dion* informeth us. *l.* 78.

*Macrinus* said he was clement, when he punished but one souldier in an hundred with capitall punishment for a mutiny, when he thought they deserved to be decimated or at least one in 20. to suffer.

*Having* written to the Senate, that he knew no body desired his death, *Fulvius Diogenianus* cryed out; *Yes but we all do.*

After he had concluded a peace with *Artabanus* the *Parthian* King, he returned to *Antioch* in *Syria*, and there spent his time in sensual pleasures, being drenched so far therein, that the Army began to dislike his government, and to favour young *Bassianus* the son of *Caracalla*, then present at *Emesa* a Citie in *Phœnicia*, with *Masa* his Grand-Mother by his Mothers side, who there had built a Temple to the Sun, and therein ordained him a Priest, for which cause he was called *Heliogabalus*, which in the Phœnician language is, *the Priest of the Sun.*

To this temple resorted many of the Souldiers, and seeing the beauty of the youth, allured *Masa* to bring him to their Camp: where known to be the Son of *Caracalla*, the Souldiers proclaimed him Emperour, and maintained his right against *Macrinus*; who after this revolt, met young *Heliogabalus* in the confines between *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, where he fought a bloudy battel, but being put to flight, hasted to *Chalcedon*, fell sick, and was with his Son *Diadumenus* put to death by the

the Souldiers, becauſe he contracted their pay, and ſuppreſſed their luxury.

He lived 54. yeares, reigned one year and 2. Moneths.

*Principis hic cuſtos, ſumptum pro Cæſare ferrum*
*Vertit in auctorem cæde Macrinus iners.*
*Mox cum prole ruit. Gravibus pulſare querelis*
*Ceſſet perfidiam. quæ patitur, meruit.*
Auſonius.

# *Choyce Observations* OF HELIOGABALUS.

THis Monster had more names and sur-names (saith *Tristan*) then *Hydra* had heads; for whilest he was a private man he was called *Varius Avitus Lupus*, *Varius* from his reputed Father *Varius Marcellus*, *Avitus Lupus* from *Julius Avitus Lupus* his Grand-father by the mothers side; after being presented to the Souldiers to obtain their favour, he was named *Bassianus*: by whom when he was received and proclaimed Emperour, they gave him the name of *Antoninus*. He was the last Emperour upon whom that name was conferred, which because he dishonoured, he was called *Pseud-Antoninus*. He was named *Assyrius* (saith *Dion*) because he was often seen in publick clothed with a barbarous habit, such as his Countrymen the Priests of *Syria*, anciently called *Assyria*, used to wear. His debauchednesse made him to be sur-named the Roman *Sardanapalus*. He had the sur-name of *Heliogabalus* given to him, * because he was Priest of *Heliogabalus* the peculiar god of the *Emesenes*; so strange a Deity, that Authors agree not about the writing, or meaning of his name: though it be most probable that it signifieth the *Sun*.

* *Novo exemplo hic fanaticus, de nomine ejus dei cujus sacerdos fuit, se quoque dici voluit, quod non minus insolens quàm si Jovis sacerdos aut dialis flamen ipsam Jovis appellationem sibi vindicasset.* Casaubon.

He

He was the ſpurious iſſue of *Caracalla* and *Symia Syra*, which *Scaliger* rendreth *Lunula Onychine*.

He had 6 Wives in the ſhort time of his reigne; the firſt of which was *Annia Fauſtina*, of *Commodus* his linage, for the enjoyment of whom he cauſed *Pomponius Baſſus* her husband to be put to death, not permitting her to weep for him. Divorcing her he married *Cornelia Paula* a moſt Illuſtrious Roman Lady (*that he might the ſooner be a Father* (ſaid he) who was not able to be a man) yet ſoon after onely becauſe ſhe had a ſpot in her body, as he ſaid, he put her away, and ſtripping her of all honours, ſequeſtred her to a private life. After pretending he was in love, he violently took out of *Veſta* her ſacred Nunnery at *Rome*, *Julia Aquilia Severa* a Veſtal Virgin, and married her, which by the *Heathens* was held ſuch a crime, that the Nun which had carnal knowledge of a man, was buried alive: writing to the Senate, who were grieved at his ſacrilegious act, *That ſhe was a fit match for a Prieſt*, and impudently affirmed he did it, *That from himſelf a Prieſt and his Wife the chief Prieſteſſe of Veſta there might be born iſſue worthy of the Gods.* Yet he quickly turned away this wife, for to eſpouſe another, with 2 more whoſe names are unknown; it being difficult to determine whether he be to be blamed more for his frequent and illegal marriages, or his ſudden and cauſeleſſe divorces. And at laſt being poſſeſſed with a

On a reverſe of *Annia Fauſtina* is written *Concordia*, and on one of *Paula's Concordia æterna*. Triſtan. See p. 171. in the margin.

continuall inconstancy (having changed 5 times in 4. yeares) he returned to *Aquilia Severa*, compare *Dion. l.* 79. with *Herod. l. 5. c. 6.*

Nor did he thus play at fast and loose with humane matrimonies onely, but now his God also wanted a wife. Him he married first to *Pallas*, after (saying, *His God liked not so martial a wife*) to *Vrania*, concluding *it was fitter to match the Sun and Moon together*, making his God almost as fickle as himself. *Herodian* l. 5. c. 6.

*He* gave all the treasure in the Temple of *Vrania* to his God, for a portion with her.

*He* commanded all the people of *Rome* and *Italy* to use all publick and private feasts for joy of the wedding:

He erected in the suburbs a magnificent Temple, into which every year with great solemnity he brought his God, whom he preferred before *Iupiter*, and made an edict that the Romans should pray to the new god *Heliogabalus* before all other gods, who, he said, *were servants of his God*, spoiling their Temples to enrich *that of his*, nay would have had no other gods worshipped at *Rome*, saith *Lamprid.* in *Heliogab.* c. 3. *Nec Romanas tantùm voluit extinguere religiones, sed per orbem terræ unum studens ut Heliogabalus deus unus ubique coleretur. Id. ibid. c. 6.*

*He* was a man for all women, and a woman for all men. *Coëffeteau.*

*He* so far differed from the manners of men, that modesty permitteth not to re-

late

late his greatest vices; the Devil in the form of an Hermaphrodite, not being able to act greater lewdness then he did saith *Tristan.*

*Lampridius* thus beginneth the story of *Heliogabalus*: I would never have wrote the beastly life of *Heliogabalus*, that it might not have been known, that he was a Roman Emperour, unlesse *Caligula*, *Nero* and *Vitellius* had before sate in the same throne.

*Boccaline* feigneth that *Lampridius* was severely proceeded against by *Apollo*, and that by order of the whole congregation of *Parnassus*, his Histories was turned back upon his hands, and he was freely told, *That he should go and teach those execrable lusts in the publick Clasis, wherewith he had so delighted himself to fill his shamefull papers, wherein he had written the lives of* Heliogabalus, Caracalla, *and other lascivious Monsters of Nature.* Parnassus *cent. 1. advertisement* 55.

It is questioned whether were greater his boundlesse *Prodigality*, his stupendious *Leachery*, or his fantasticall *Foolery*: the last of which his *Imperial vertues* he gave proof of, when he commanded his servants to bring him a *thousand pound weight of Spiders* offering them a reward, and received of them ten thousand pound weight, whereupon he said, that now he understood the greatness of *Rome*: At another time he caused to be gathered *ten thousand Mice*, a *thousand Wezels*, and a *thousand Polecats*, which he brought forth in a publick shew to the people, for

some wise *State-purpose*, like the former. *Speeds Chron.*

He disfigured his faire face with foul tinctures; He slept in the day, transacted affaires in the night.

Being near the Sea, he never tasted fish; nor flesh, when he was fartheſt in the Continent: He said that fare was best which cost most.

He ridicously wore Jewels, and those curiously engraved, on his feet; as if the rarity of the work could be discerned there. *Lamprid. c. 23.*

That he might seem magnificent, he drowned Ships in the haven; paying the owners for their fraught: and drew Fishes out of his Ponds with Oxen. *Lamprid. c. 32.* and 24.

He built stately Bathes, which being but once used were plucked down. *Lampr. c. 30.*

He said, *If he had an heir he would teach him to do as he did.*

When he was but a private man, being reproved for his prodigality by a friend, who asked him, *Whether he did not fear want hereafter*; he answered, *What can be better for me then to be heire to my self?*

He conferred honours on sordid persons, and put great persons upon mean employments, causing the entrails of the sacrifices to be born by Generals of armies, and the chief Officers of State.

In imitation of *Apicius* he would frequently eate Camels heels, the combes of *Cocks* newly

newly cut, the tongues of Peacocks and Nightingales, with the entrails of Mullets, Partridges egges, the heads of Parrats, Pheasants and Peacocks, and the braines of Thrushes and Phœnicopters. *Id. ibid.* c. 20.

*He* had served in at a meale the heads of 600. Estridges, onely that he might eat their brains. *Id. ib.* c. 30.

He fed his horses with grapes, his dogs with Geese livers (a dainty then) Lyons and other beasts with Parrats and Pheasants. *Id. ibid.* c. 20, and 21.

He often changed his Pallets, and lay not on any couch unlesse it was stuffed with Hares furre, or the feathers under Partridges wings. *Id. ib.* c. 19.

One day he would eat nothing but Pheasant, another day Chickens, on another this or that Fish, at one time Ostriches, at another Herbs, or Apples, other whiles sweet-meats or white-meats onely. *Id. ib.* c. 32.

One of his feasts was hardly ended in a day, the several messes being prepared, and eaten successively in the houses of his several friends, one dwelling in the Capitol, another upon mount *Cælius*, a 3 beyond *Tiber*, &c. one staying for another, till the dishes went through all their houses. *Lampridius* c. 30.

*In parasita tantùm sce-lestus nebulo ingeniosus & justus fuisse videtur,* saith one.

He tyed his Parasites to a wheele, and turned them up and down in water, calling them his *Ixionian friends*. *Id. ibid.* c. 24.

He

*He* thruſt them alſo out of his dining-roomes, which had deceitfull floores, into chambers filled with roſes, that ſmothered with them, they might meet with the bitterneſſe of death in ſweetneſſe. *Id. ib.* c. 21.

*He Tantalized* them with mock-feaſts in waxe, wood, ivory, marble, glaſſe; ſometimes what himſelf did eat was woven or wrought with a needle on their Napkins: otherwhiles ſo many diſhes of meat as were provided for him, were painted upon their tables: onely allowing them to drink. *Id. ib.* c. 26. and 27.

At the 2 and 3 courſe he cauſed Beares, Pardals, Lyons and Leopards, which lacked their teeth and clawes, to be brought in ſuddenly by their Keepers, to terrify them, who were ignorant of their inability to hurt. *Lamprid.* c. 21.

*He* ſhut them up when they were drunk, turning in upon them in the night theſe diſarmed beaſts, with the fear of which many dyed. *Id. ib.* c. 25.

Their yearly ſalaries were pitchers full of Frogs, Scorpions, Serpents and Flyes. *Id. ib.* c. 26.

Many times he kept them in their lodgings from night to morning with old Black-moor women, whereas he told them he had provided moſt beautifull ones for them. *Id. ib.* c. 30.

When the people had taken up their places before day in the Theatre to behold the ſports, he cauſed Serpents to be thrown among

among them, whereby many of them were sore bitten and hurt by flight. *Lampridius* c. 23.

He did fantastically set up a Senate of Women, with sutable Orders, as how to attire, where take place, when salute; but after his death all Women were deprived of that priviledge by the Senate. *Id. ib.* c. 4. and 18.

He did drive Chariots drawn by Elephants in the *Vatican*, levelling the tombes which stood in his way; he was also drawn by 4 Camels in the *Circus*, by 4 Mastives in the *Palace*, after he was Emperour; by 4 stags in publick, sometimes by Lyons he naming himself *Magna Mater*, also by Tigers counterfeiting *Bacchus*, unto whom through his excessive humour of drinking he was something more like: other whiles 4 naked Wenches drew him, he being also naked. *Lamprid.* c. 23.28.29.

He was addicted to divination by inspection of the bowels of young men sacrificed, chusing many fair Gentlemen throughout all *Italy*, whose Parents were living, that their sorrow might be the greater, *Lampridius* c. 8.

By perswasion of *Masa* his Grand-mother, who pretended to free him from cares of state, he proclaimeth *Alexander Severus* his Cousin German *Cæsar*, maketh him Consul with himself, and adopteth him for his Son, the Senate ridiculously voting what he commanded, *viz. Alex. Severus* who was 12 years old

old, to be the Son of *Heliogabalus* who was but 16.

He assaying in vain to draw his cousen to his unseemely courses, repented that he had made him his collegue in the Empire; expelled all his Tutors from the Court, and put the chief of them to death: alleadging ridiculously, *that the Pedants spoiled his Son, not suffering him to dance and revell, but teaching him to be Modest and use manly exercises.* Herodian. l. 5. c. 7. *Lamprid. c.* 13.

That he revenged himself on none who mocked him upon the reading of *Macrinus* his letters against him at Rome: *Tristan* imputeth to the prudent moderation of *Mæsa* and *Eutychianus*, by whose means chiefly he got the Empire, whom yet he put to death with cruell ingratitude, onely because he was advised by him to reform.

The *Syrian* Priests having foretold him that he should dye a violent death, he build a rich and stately Tower whence he might throw himself down; preparing also cords of crimson silk and gold to strangle himself with; rich swords to thrust himself through; keeping poyson in boxes of *Emeralds* and *Jacynth*, that he might chuse a death according to his humour: saying, *That however he dyed, his death should be glorious in the eyes of men, and such a one as none ever dyed.*

But he failed of his hope, though not of his desert; for the Souldiers of his own guard, whom he commanded to make away his Cousin-german, and deface his statues, for

for the love they bore to *Alexander Severus*, killed *Heliogabalus* himself in a privy, whither he fled to escape them.

His body was drawn by a Souldier through all the streets of *Rome*, like the carkas of a dog, with this military proclamation: *The whelp of untamed and ravening lust.* At last when the quantity of his body was greater then would enter into the stool of a privy, wherein for the last funerall ceremony it should have been buried, they drew it to *Tiber*, binding it to an heavy weight, & so cast it into the River, that it might neither float above water nor be buried; he being the only Emperour who was ever so punished.

They did also thrust stakes through the fundament of some of his lewd companions, that their death might be conformable to their life.

It is observable that notwithstanding he not onely permitted, but also encouraged his subjects to live licentiously: moreover was so liberal toward them, that he fed them with most delicate and exquisite meates, gave unto them abundance of mony, and all the plate, were it of gold or silver, wherewith he was served, to them who dined or supped with him, & made many other very sumptuous distributions to the people: yet the Romans nevertheless abhorring in him their own vices, or rather being satiated therewith, slew him as is above mentioned, in the 21 year of his age, when he had reigned 3 years 9 months & 4 dayes.

*Choyce*

# *Choyce Observations*

## OF

# ALEXANDER MAMMÆÆ.

HE was named *Alexander*, becauſe he was born in the Temple of *Alexander* the Great, and on that day that *Alexander* dyed; he had a Foſter-father called *Philip*, and a nurſe named *Olympias*: in alluſion to *Alexander* the Great's Father and Mother. *Lampridius in Alexandro Severo.* c. 5. & 13. who reckoneth 14. omens of his coming to the Empire.

of his pedigree, ſee *H. Valeſius* on *Peireſci, Excerpta* p. 112.

He is called *Alexander Mammæa* from his mother *Mammæa* more known then his Father.

Though he was ſtrict in his diſcipline, yet *Lampridius* erroneouſly affirmeth that he was named *Severus* for his *ſeverity* to the Souldiers. *Triſtan* tom 2. p. 385.

His mother *Julia Mammæa* (daughter of *Maſa*) was a Chriſtian woman, and did ſend for *Origen* to inſtruct her ſon in the grounds of the Chriſtian religion.

He was the firſt who received at one time all ornaments and tokens of honour, which he purchaſed by his honeſt life and vertuous manners, whereby he obtained ſuch favour of all men, that when his Couſin-German *Heliogabalus* would have ſlain him,

he

he could not for the Souldiers and Senates resistance: he proving himself worthy to be saved harmless by the Senate and Souldiers, and to be elected Emperour by the votes of all good men, when he was but 16. years old. *Lamprid.* c. 2.

He was then so modest, that when the Senate and people would have given to him the sur-names of *Antoninus* and *Magnus* as principall titles of Honour, he humbly refused them, saying openly unto the Senate; *It pleaseth me not to assume what belongeth to others, and I find my self overladen with your love, for these high names of honour are too burdensome to me.* Whereupon (saith *Lamprid.* c. 12.) he gained more honour, than if he had taken titles upon him, and from that time he had the repute of a moderate and wise man.

* *Quod ei quasi Alexandro est oblatum.*

[*Eruditionis gloriam famamq; declinando eruditissimus habebatur* saith *Hierome* of *Nepotianus.*]

He went usually in the morning betime to his devotion into his closet, where were set the images of *Apollonius*, Christ, *Abraham*, and *Orpheus. Lamprid.* c. 29.

He did read much the life of *Alexander* the Great, whom he imitated especially, yet abhorred his drunkenes and cruelty toward his friends. *Id.* c. 30.

See p. 13. in the margin.

He would not hear Oratours or Poets speak any thing to his praise, counting it folly, but willingly heard Orations of the acts of other good Princes, or of famous Romans;

Romans; and most gladly such as were made in praise of *Alexander* the Great. *Id.* c. 35.

He had the picture of *Virgil* and *Tully*, with *Achilles* and other great persons in his lesser *lararium*; *Alexander* the great among those he worshipped as Gods in his greater. *Id. ibid.* c. 31.

He was at first harsh, after favourable to Christians, thought to build a Temple to Christ, but was diverted by *Vlpian* and others who having consulted their Heathen gods, received this answer (saith *Lamprid.* c. 43.) that if that were suffered, all men would be Christians, and all other Temples desolate.

See p. 44. and 132.

He delighted not in cloath of gold or silkes, saying; *Government consisted in vertue, and not in costly apparell. Lamprid.* c. 33.

At his table he drunk not in cups of gold, and kept not above 200. pound weight of silver vessels in his house, *Id. ibid.* c. 34.

*Lamprid.* c. 51. He sold Jewels that were given to him, counting it unfit for himself to possesse such things, as he could neither give to his souldiers, nor any man find profit in. Wherefore when an Embassador had given to the Empresse 2. unions of wonderfull greatnesse, he commanded them to be sold: and when none could be found who would give as much as they were prized at, lest any ill example should proceed from his wife, if she wore that which no body could buy, he caused them to be hanged at the eares of

the

the Image of *Venus*: thereby declaring that such things either for the ineſtimable price were fitter for gods then men: or for the unprofitable beauty thereof ſerved onely for perſons of wanton diſpoſitions, whereof *Venus* was goddeſſe and patroneſſe. Sr. *Th Elyot* his image of govern.

He would not ſuffer any to come into his preſence, but ſuch as were honeſt and of good report, commanding that none ſhould enter into his Palace, but onely ſuch who knew themſelves to be free from vice: cauſing it to be proclaimed that no perſon knowing himſelf to be a thief, ſhould preſume to ſalute him upon pain of capitall puniſhment. *Lamprid.* c. 18.

He prohibited infamous women to ſalute his Wife or Mother. *Id.* c. 25.

He was ſtrict in his own manners, wherefore all noble men aſſayed to imitate him, and honourable matrons followed the Empreſſes example. *Id.* c. 41.

He cauſed the ſinews of one of his Secretary's fingers to be cut through, ſo that he could never write after, and baniſhed him, for forging a falſe bill in his Counſell. *Id. ib.* c. 28. *Videſis plura.* See p. 62. and 63.

He commanded one of his own ſervants, who had abuſed him by receiving 100. Crownes of a Souldier for a bribe, to be hanged in the high way, wherein his ſervants moſt frequently paſſed to his manors without the City. *Id.* c. 23.

He uſed like ſeverity toward ſouldiers; for when he heard that one of them had

wronged a poor old woman, he cashiered him and made him be bond slave to the woman, that he being a carpenter might with his trade and labour maintain her: and when the Souldiers were grieved thereat, he perswaded them to be contended, and made them afraid to grudge at it. *Id.* c. 51.

He would in no case permit offices to be sold; *for* (said he) *he who buyeth, must sell; I will not endure any merchandise of authority; which if* I *tolerate*, I *cannot afterwards condemn; and* I *shall be ashamed to punish him who sold what* I *permitted him to buy.* Id. c. 49.

He so abhorred bribery, that if by chance he saw a Judge therewith corrupted, he was ready to scratch out his eyes; and was so incensed at the sight of such extortioners, that he would immediately vomit up choler, his face being as it were on fire, and he not able of a long time to speak a word. *Id.* c. 17.

*He* had a favourite named *Vetronius Turinus*, who used to be more familiar with him then others, which so blinded him, that he by lyes confirmed the opinion of many, who thought the Emperour would do nothing without his advice. Which abuse the Emperour hearing of used this plot to circumvent him. *He* caused one to desire something of him openly, and after to sue privily to *Turinus* to help him in his demand, and secretly to move the Emperour for him: which being done, *Turinus* promised his

good will to the petitioner, and soon after said that he had sollicited the Emperour therein, (whereas he spoke not a word thereof) and expected his answer; whereupon he received of the said person a great summe of money, which the Emperour knowing, caused him to call often on *Turinus*; who, as if he had other business in hand, onely beckened on him without speaking any thing to him; the Emperour in the *interim* having given to another that which this man sued for, who grudging thereat, discovered openly what *Turinus* had received of him: whereupon the Emperour commanded *Turinus* to be accused openly in his presence, and all things being proved by sufficient and credible witnesses, in whose presence he had received bribes, and in whose hearing he had promised great matters: he was adjudged by the Emperour to be bound to a stake in the market place, and to be smothered to death with smoke of green sticks and wet stubble, the bedell being commanded to cry the mean while, *Fumo punitur qui vendidit fumum; He perisheth by smoke who had vented smoke in stead of substance.* But lest men should think the judgement was too rigorous for one offence, before he was condemned to dye, the Emperour made diligent search, and found by evident proofes, that *Turinus* had often and in many causes received money of both parts, promising to promote their cause to the Emperour. *Lamprid.* c. 35. & 36.

*He* had in his chamber bills containing the number of his Souldiers, with their names, and what time they had ſerved; and when he was alone, he peruſed their accounts, and the number of them with their dignityes and wages, that he might be ſurely provided upon all occaſions: wherefore when he had any thing to do with them, he could tell many of their names. When he was ſollicited to promote any one, he marked his name, and then ſearched his books of remembrance, wherein were the names of them who ſerved him, with the time of their ſervice, alſo their reward, and at whoſe requeſt they were promoted. *Id.* c. 21.

In his expeditions if any Souldier going out of the way paſſed through an other mans ground, he would cauſe him to be beaten with rods, or be drubbed in his ſight: or if the dignity of the perſon freed him from ſuch puniſhments, he would ſeverely reprove him, ſaying; *Viſne hoc in agro tuo fieri, quod alteri facis?* Lamprid. c. 51.

See p. 128.

When his Souldiers mutinyed at *Antioch*, becauſe he exerciſed martial diſcipline upon ſome of them for debauchedneſſe, he ſtilled them with theſe words; *Quirites diſcedite, atque arma deponite.* A wonderfull example, they all putting off their armes and ſouldiers coates, departed to their ſeverall lodgings. Then the Emperours guard brought all the Standards into the Camp, and the people themſelves brought all

all their armour to the Emperours Palace: Yet that very Legion which he disbanded, being sued unto 30 dayes before he went toward *Persia*, he received again, and by their valour especially, he overcame his enemies: notwithstanding ere he departed he put to death the Commanders of that Legion, because the souldiers passed their time riotously at *Daphne*, through their negligence or connivence. *Id. ib.* c. 53. & 54.

*He* so heard the complaints of souldiers against their Commanders, that if he found any Officer faulty, he punished him according to the quality of the offence, without purpose of pardon. *Id.* c. 23.

*He* made one a pretorian prefect, who fled to avoid so arduous imployment, saying; *Invitos, non ambientes in republica collocandos, They were fit to bear office of state who shunned them, not those that sued for them.* Id. c. 19.

[King *William Rufus* (sacrilegious in other acts) herein discharged a good conscience. Two Monks came to him to buy an Abbots place of him, seeking to outvie each other in offering great summes of money, whilest a third Monk stood by, and said nothing. To whom said the King; What wilt thou give for the place? Not a penny, answered he, for it is against my conscience; but here I stay to wait home on him whom your Royall pleasure shall design Abbot. Then quoth the King, Thou of the three best deservest the place, and

ſhalt have it, and ſo beſtowed it on him. *Fullers* Holy ſtate. l. 2. c. 12.]

He never made a Senatour without the Counſell and approbation of the whole Senate, teſtimony of him being given by honourable perſons; but if either the Senatours who gave their ſuffrage, or the witneſſes were found to have ſpoken untruly, they were put into the loweſt place of eſteem, being alſo condemned by the people as deceivers and forgers without hope of remiſſion. *Lamprid. c.* 19.

He loved learned men, and feared them alſo very much, leſt they ſhould write any thing ſharply of him. *Lamprid.* c. 3.

His Mother *Mammæa* and his Grand-mother *Maſa* choſe out of the Senate 16 grave and honourable Peeres for his Counſellers and Aſſiſtants, without whoſe conſent nothing was to paſſe as an Act of State. *Herodian.* l. 6. c. 1.

He tranſacted no weighty matter of judicature, without the advice of no leſſe then 50 moſt learned and wiſe men, beſide 20 Lawyers (18 whereof were Scholars of *Papinian*) of whom *Vlpian* was chief.

Every mans opinion was heard, and what they ſaid was written; a competent time being given each Counſellour to conſider what they propounded, that they might not ſpeak unadviſedly in matters of importance. *Lamprid.* c. 16. and 68.

In Law and buſineſs of ſtate, intelligent, learned and eloquent men were of his Councell;

Councel; in military affaires old Commanders, who had behaved themselves valiantly in several battails, and were expert in the situation of places, pitching of fields, and preparation of camps; in each matters he advised with the best Historians: asking them, what the Emperours of *Rome* or Princes of forreign countries in former times did in like cases as were then in debate. Id. c. 16.

When he appointed Governours of Provinces, he published their names, exhorting and encouraging the people to bring in what exception they could against them, and manifestly to prove the crime, if there was cause of accusation; provided, if they did not sufficiently prove their charge, and that their accusation proceeded from malice, the accuser should forthwith be beheaded: for, said he, *Since Christians and Jews use this method in ordination of Priests, it is most reasonable that the like course should be taken in the choice of Rectors of Provinces, to whom are committed the lives and fortunes of those who are under them.* Id. c. 49.

When certain *Huckster*s and Cookes pretended they had right to a place which was consecrated by the Christians, and it was inquired what was his pleasure therein, he answered; *It was better that God should be worshipped there after any sort, then that the place should be put to vain uses.* Id. c. 49.

*Eusebius* in his Eccleasticall *History* l. 6. saith, that there were many Christians in his family.

*He* wrote down ſo far as he could remember, what he had given to any man, and if he found any to whom he had either given nothing, or that which was not equall to his merit, he called them unto him, ſaying *What is the cauſe that thou askeſt nothing of me? Wouldſt thou have me to be in thy debt? Ask ſomething that thou mayeſt not complain of me for want of promotion.* Id. c. 46.

When any one had exerciſed his office in the Common-wealth well, at the end of his term when there was a Succeſſour appointed, he would ſay to him who departed out of his office; *Gratias tibi agit Reſpublica:* and would ſo reward him, that being a private perſon, he might according to his degree live the more honeſtly. *Id.* c. 32.

*He* allowed every Judge of a Province 20 pound weight in ſilver, 6 ſilver pots, 2 Mules, 2 Mulets, 2 Horſes, a Horſe-keeper and a Muletour, 2 Robes to ſit in judgement, one honourable garment to wear in his houſe, one for his bath, one cook, and 100 crowns; their employment being ended, they were bound to reſtore the Mules, Mulets, Horſes, Muletours and Cooks: but might retain the reſidue if they had diſcharged their office well, otherwiſe they payed 4 times as much as they received. *Id.* c. 42.

*He* did let no day paſſe without exerciſing himſelf in learning and martial affaires. *Id.* c. 3.

Every day alſo he did ſome good to others, in which (ſaith *Triſtan*) he had an advantage

advantage of happineſſe above *Titus*, who could not expreſſe the like goodneſs above ſpace of 2 yeares in which he reigned.

If neceſſity required, he heard matters before day, ſtaying till it was late; never ſeeming to be weary or troubled: but had all the time the ſame countenance, in all things appearing merry and pleaſant. *Lampridius* c. 29.

He was ſo courteous, that he viſited the meaneſt of his ſick friends, deſiring them to tell him their minds freely of every thing, and hearing them attentively; and when he had heard them throughly, whatſoever he found amiſſe he carefully amended: and when his mother *Mammæa* and his wife *Memmia* blamed him for his great civility, ſaying it made his authority contemptible, he anſwered; *but more ſecure and durable.* Id. c. 20.

He repaired moſt of the Bridges which were built by *Trajan*, leaving notwithſtanding the name and honour thereof to *Trajan*. Id. c. 26.

His Souldiers marceed like Senatours to the *Perſian* war, the Country loving them as brethren, and honouring the Emperour as a God. *Id.* c. 50.

Whenhe dined or ſupped abroad, he had ever with him *Vlpian* or other learned men, that he might benefit himſelf by their diſcourſe, with which he ſaid, that he was both recreated and fed. *Id.* c. 34.

In all the time of his reign, which laſted

sted 14 yeares he suffered none to dye, but those who were condemned by law; a rare vertue, and not practised by any since *Marcus Aurelius:* and there had been nothing wanting to have rendred him a most excellent Prince, had not his Mother who was (a good woman but) too miserable, blasted his honour by her sordid demeanour. *Herodian* l. 6. c. 9.

*Lampridius* c. 14.

*He* meeting with a *Druid* as he went into *Germany*, she said to him; *Vadas, nec victoriam speres, nec militi tuo credas.* *Lampridius* c. 60.

*Thrasybulus* his friend foretelling that he should die by the hand of a barbarian, he rejoyced, thinking that he should die a warlike death; but he was mistaken in his interpretation, dying not in war: for the souldiers enraged with his discipline, and his mother *Mammæa*'s covetousnes, slew both near *Mentz* in *Germany*, by the instigation of *Maximus* a muletour whom he had raised.

He lived 29 yeares 11 months and 7 dayes, and reigned (saith *Lampride*) 13 years and 9 dayes. S. *Aur. Victor* saith that when *Alexander* saw himself forsaken of his guard, he cryed out upon her which gave him his life, as the cause of his death; adding that *Mammæa* had reduced her son to such an extremity by her sparing humour, who if never so little was left at their overfrugal table, reserved it till another time.

*Matris cultu plus quam pius.* Aur. Victor.

*Verè* Mammæus *à studio in matrem* Mammæ-

am

am, *ex cujus arbitrio & consilio multa administrat infeliciter & cum proprio exitio.* Dietericus *in breviario historico.*

*Iulian* bringeth in *Silenus* thus deriding him: *O te hominem amentissimum, & nullius plane consilii! qui ad tantum dignitatis fastigium elatus, tuas res ex animi tui sententia non administrasti, sed tuas pecunias matri commisisti, neque tibi in mentem venit, longe satius & utilius esse eas amicis impartiri, quàm sibi recondere.*

He is the more to be honoured and admired, since being come of uncertain linage, born far from *Rome*, and in so barbarous a Country as *Syria*, he so well governed the *Roman* Empire, which before his time was extremely corrupted with detestable vices.

*Dion* was contemporary and Consul with *Alexander*, with whom he endeth his history, of which *Busieres* in his *Flosculi historici* passeth this censure: *Tunc* Dio Cassius *principi charus & fastis insertus, inauguravit literas trabea; Romanæ Græcus scriptor historiæ perquam accuratus, quam tamen negligentia temporum perdidit, dum studiosus brevitatis in* Xiphilino, *ignorantiam fovet, & umbram amans corpus amittit.*

*Choyce*

# *Choyce Observations*

## OF

## MAXIMINUS,

## And his Son

## MAXIMUS.

*Maximinus* ſpent his youth in keeping cattle, yet was advanced afterward for his ſtature which exceeded 8 foot by 6 fingers. *Capitolinus in Maxim.* c.1. & in *Maximino Iun*, c.2. *ſecundum correctionem* Caſauboni & Salmaſii. [ *Ego* (*ut ἀυτοψίαν, cui magna ſolet eſſe fides, teſtem faciam*) *Belgam* (*Antwerpianum ſe ferebat*) *in Galliis*, Anno 1583. *vidi novem pedes altitudine excedentem*, *&c.* Merula *Coſmographiæ parte prima*, l. 3. c. 14.]

His body was ſo great that his wives bracelet ſerved him for a ring. *Capitolinus in Maximino*, c.6.

His ſtomach was anſwerable; he eating daily 40, ſometimes 60 pound weight of fleſh; and drinking 6 gallons of wine, *Id. ibid.* c.4.

His ſtrength was ſutable; he being able to draw waines loaden with his hands; to ſtrike out the teeth of a horſe with his fiſt, to break his thighes with a kick; to crumble *tophy* ſtones between his fingers, and to cleave young

young Trees: for which he was called *Hercules*, *Antæus*, and *Milo*; as *Achilles*, *Hector*, and *Ajax*, for his valour. *Id. ibid.* c.6. and 8.

*Sept. Severus* celebrating the birth-day of his Son *Geta*, with military sports, gave the winners for a reward jewels, collars, bracelets, belts; *Maximinus* who was newly come to the army, and could scarce speak *Latine* came before him, intreating his leave that he might put forth himself in these exercises. *Severus* wondring at the greatness of his body, granted his request; but upon conditition, that he should not encounter with any souldier, *but with such as were water-bearers and servitors of the Camp, among which were very strong and stout men. *Maximinus* overcame 16 of them before he rested, receiving so many smaller rewards, but not such as were given to the Souldiers, and was listed for service. Three dayes after the Emperour riding to view his Camp, saw *Maximinus* (who was yet but a fresh water-souldier) out of order; wherefore he commanded a Colonel to call him into his rank, and to instruct him in the duty he was to obverve in the warres: *Maximinus* imagining the Emperour spake of him, kneeled down at his feet. The Emperour desiring to see whether he could run well or no, spurred his Horse and took several Turnes in the field; and seeing *Maximinus* left not of running, old *Severus* being tired said to *Maximinus*, *Thracian*, will you wrestle after your race? whereto he answered, *So long*

* *Nequid a rudi homine militaribus viris veniret injuriæ*, saith *Jornandes* in Geticis, c.15.

*long as it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſty.* Then the Emperour chuſing 7 of the ſtrongeſt men in his army, *Maximinus* overcame them without reſting between. Whereupon *Severus* commanded a collar of gold to be given to him alone, with certain pieces of ſilver; made him one of his guard, and commanded that he ſhould continually attend in the palace: by which means he came to be eſteemed by the Commanders and Souldiers, and to obtain what he deſired of the Emperour, *Id. ib.*c.2.and 3.

He was diligent as well after as before his preferment, ſaying, *Ego quò major fuero, tantò plus laborabo:* and rather then his Souldiers ſhould be out of action, he imployed them in hunting.

Even in his old age he would throw down 5,6,or 7 Souldiers (whom he wreſtled with) one after another; and being challenged by a Tribune who envied him, whē they met, *Maximinus* gave him ſuch a blow on the breaſt with the palm of his hand, that he threw him flat upon his back, ſaying, in ſport; *Date alium, ſed Tribunum.* Id. ib. c.6.

*Caracalla* made *Maximinus* a Centurion; (in *Macrinus* his reign he left the army out of hatred to the aſſaſinate of his ſovereign;) even *Heliogabalus* permitted him to be a Tribune: but *Alexander Severus* gave him the command of a Legion, whoſe death notwithſtanding he diſloyally practiſed (as is before mentioned;) whereupon he was elected

cted Emperour by the ſouldiers, without the conſent of the Senate. *Id. ibid.* c.4. 5. 7.8.

It appeareth unqueſtionably that he committed this villany (notwithſtanding the doubts of ſome) becauſe he killed all *Alexanders* relations and friends. *Triſtan.*

He arrogantly uſurped the names of *Cajus Julius Verus*, and the proud Epithets of *Invictus, Fortiſsimus*, and *Nobiliſsimus*; notwithſtanding his ignoble extraction. *Triſtan.*

He ſuffered no noble perſon to be about him, and out of a deſire to conceal the baſeneſs of his birth, ſlew even the beſt of his friends who were conſcious of it. *Lampridius* c.9.

His tyranny cauſed many to conſpire againſt him, which he diſcovering, took an occaſion to renew his cruelty.

*Maximinus* firſt thanked *Macedonius*, who treacherouſly ſlew *Tycus* that had rebelled againſt him, but afterward put him to death as a Traitor. *Capitolinus* c. 11.

*Præclarum tyranni factũ, & verè ſingulare, nam totâ vitâ unicum hoc laude dignum.* Elenchus Numiſmatum *in Bibliotheca Bodlejana.*

He ſlew all of the faction of his adverſary *Magnus* without any judiciall proceſſe, not ſatisfied with the ſlaughter of above 4000. *Capitolinus* c. 10.

*Maximus Pupienus* (who made preparations at *Ravenna* to wage war againſt him by the Senates appointment) was exceedingly afraid of him, and ſaying often; that he was

not

not engaged againſt a man, but a *Cyclops*: and *Balbinus* (who was made his colleague in the Empire by the Senate, and ſtaid at *Rome*) trembled at the naming of him.

He was ſo feared at *Rome*, that, when he was in *Italy*, the women with their children prayed ſolemnely in their Temples that he might never return; having heard that ſome were crucified by him, ſome incloſed in beaſts newly killed, others caſt to wild beaſts, others bruiſed with clubs, without any regard to the quality of perſons. *Id. ibid.* c.8.

For his cruelty (which he thought neceſſary for his ſecurity) he was hated, and called *Cyclops*, *Buſiris*, *Syron*, *Phalaris*, *Typhon*, and *Gyges*. Id ib.& c.9.

He was ſo infatuated with the confidence of his own greatneſs and perſonal ſtrength, that he entertained a conceit, that death durſt not adventure to encounter him, for fear of having his Javelin broke about his own crazy skull, and all his Skeleton of bones rattled to duſt. *Dr. Charletons* Darkneſs of Atheiſm diſpelled by the light of nature, p.178.

Becauſe he thought himſelf immortal, he was covertly defied in the *Theatre* by a *Comœdian* in theſe verſes:

*Qui ab uno non poteſt occidi, à multis occiditur:*
*Elephas grandis eſt, & occiditur:*
*Leo fortis eſt, & occiditur:*
*Tigris fortis eſt, & occiditur:*
*Cave multos, ſi ſingulos non times.*

If

*If thou fear'ſt not the force of one alone,*
*Beware the ſtrength of many joyn'd in one.*
*Capitolinus c. 9.*

What was ſpoken in ſport, befell him in earneſt; for *Maximinus* haſting with his army towards *Rome* to be revenged of the Senate which intended reſiſtance, was oppoſed at *Aquileja*, where women made bow-ſtrings of their hair to ſhoot againſt him; at which repulſe he became ſo furious that he killed many of his own Souldiers; wherewith the reſt being enraged ſlew him and his Son, ſaying; *Canis peſsimi ne catulus quidem relinquendus: Of a bad litter not a whelp is to be left.*

*Capitolinus in Maximino Jun. & id Maximo & Balbino.*

He was 65 years old when he dyed, and his Son 21.

The time of their reign is not agreed upon.

The Meſſenger who brought word of their death, came from *Aquileia* to *Rome* (798 miles) in 4 dayes, *Capitolinus* c. 25.

*Magna ſane diligentia: ſed non incredibilis; cùm ſimilis celeritatis aut etiam majoris exempla & apud veteres legantur, & hodiéque ed' ſæpiſsimè videamus. Conſtat hodiernos veredarios Roma Lutetiam ſæpe diebus ſex ſeptem commeare: quæ longè major contentio eſt,* Caſaubonus.

When his head with his ſons were brought to *Rome*, all ran to the Altars to thank the Gods, and *Balbinus* ſacrificed Hecatombs for his deliverance, commanding the ſame to be done throughout the Empire.

*Maximinus* was the Author of the 6 perſe-

cution, which *Triſtan* thinks he raiſed onely that he might confiſcate the *Chriſtians* goods, his ſacrilegious covetouſneſs not permitting him to ſpare *Heathen* Temples.

In his reign GORDIAN the father and ſon took upon them the Empire in *Africk*, the Son was ſlain by *Capellianus* a friend to *Maximinus*, the Father through deſpair ſtrangled himſelf.

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*Choyce*

# *Choyce Observations*

## OF

## MARCUS CLODIUS, PUPIENUS MAXIMUS, And DECIMUS CÆLIUS BALBINUS. Collegues

Upon the death of the 2 *Gordians* the Senate chose *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* Empe-perours in opposition to *Maximinus*. In the mean time the Commons decryed the election, but especially rejected *Pupienus*, as too austere; and cryed out that they would presently kill them both, and have a Prince of *Gordians* linage, that the Empire might continue in that name. *Balbinus* and *Pupienus* assaying to go forth of the *Capitol*, were kept in with clubs and stones, till they deluded the people by this invention.

There was in the City a little boy, son to *Gordians* daughter, and of his Grand-fathers name; whom they sent for thither. They who were sent for him, finding him playing at home, lifted him on their shoulders, and so carried him through the crowd, telling the people he was *Gordians* Nephew, and of his name: the people shouting for joy, and

casting leaves upon him. When the Senate had proclaimed him *Cæsar* (his minority not permitting him to manage the state) and the people were calmed, the elected Emperours were suffered to passe to the Palace, *Herodian.* l.7.c.10.

*Ridiculè Orosius l.7. fratres fuisse scribit, cum alter nobilis, ignobilis alter fuerit, Capitolino auctore* Schottus *in Aur. Victorem.*

*Balbinus* was both noble and ancient, *Pupienus* was ignobly descended, but had born many offices, which having discharged with wisdome and valour, he was highly prized by the Senate.

These Emperours were not joyned in affection, as in authority; each holding himself most deserving: each having their own, and standing upon their own guard.

The election of these Emperours by the Senate displeased the souldiers so much, that at last they assaulted the *Court*, and easily slew these *Senatorian Emperours*, (as they carried them) being at variance; crying out that they had but slain them, whom themselves first rejected.

*Zosimus*, saith that *Balbinus* and *Pupienus*, would have killed young *Gordian*, because he was more beloved of the souldiers, by whom he was made *Cæsar*; who hearing of their designe, prevented them: but *Bæclerus* thinketh he is mistaken.

*Choyce*

# *Choyce Observations*

Of

# ANTONIUS GORDIANUS

UPon the dath of *Balbinus* and *Pupienus*, *Gordian* the third, before created *Cæsar* by the Senate through the importunity of the souldiers; was made Emperour by a general consent in the thirteenth year of his age.

He married *Tranquillina* daughter of *Misitheus*; whom he loved and honoured for his learning; by whose advice he transacted state-affaires prosperously, expelling *Sapor* King of *Persia* from *Syria*, recovering *Antioch*, *Nisibis*, and *Carræ* by his assistance: for which successe the Senate appointed a triumph for *Gordian*, and a triumphal chariot for *Misitheus* with this inscription: *Misitheo parenti principum, Pop. Rom. tutori reip. S.P.Q.R.*

*Misitheus* was soon missed for counsell and trust, being poisoned by *Philip* an *Arabian* of ignoble parentage, who was made Prefect in his stead, and aspired to the Empire. *Eutropius.*

*Philip* secretly caused a scarcity of victuals in the Army, which he did, that the

souldiers might imagine it to be occasioned by *Gordians* neglect, whom he charged with inability to govern, being so young.

The Officers were corrupted by *Philip*, and the souldiers through ignorance of his deceipt, make him *Gordians* Governour, whereupon he grew so insolent, that he commanded all, as if he had been sole Emperour.

*Gordian* discerning his aim complaineth openly to the souldiers of the wrong which was done to him by *Philip*, notwithstanding all obligations to the contrary; but *Philips* project prevailing, *Gordian* since he could not share in the Empire, sued to be a Captain, which was denyed him: *Philip* not thinking himself safe (whilest *Gordiã* of great blood and esteem was alive) slew him in the 22 year of his age, and 6 of his reign; as if Justice her self appeared evidently to take vengeance on the Traitors, each of his Murtherers with the same Poinyard wherewith they slew him, killed himself.

See *Iulius Cæsar*, p. 19.

*Gordianus Motto* was *Miser est Imperator apud quem verè reticentur*; which was his own case.

Choyce

# *Choyce Observations*

## OF

## PHILIPPUS ARABS,
And his Son
## CAIUS JULIUS SATURNINUS PHILIPPUS.

PHILIP the Father writing to the Senate of *Gordians* death as if it had hapned naturally, was by them proclaimed Emperour, through fear of the Souldiers.

The Gothes infesting *Mysia* and *Asia*, *Philip* sent *Marinus* against them, who as soon as he came into those parts drew his Army into a rebellion, and proclaimed himself Emperour; taking (he said) his example from *Philip*, who raised his title by his sovereignes fall.

*Philip* complaining very much to the Senate of *Marinus* his ingratitude, *Decius* bid him not fear, for *Marinus* should suffer for it, as he did, for the mutable souldiers, who even now erected him, suddenly threw him down, and slew him.

*Decius* being sent in *Marinus* his room, was also proclaimed Emperour by the souldiers, though against his will, out of their hatred to *Philip*.

*Decius* sent secretly to *Philip*, professing he meant to escape the souldiers, and persist

in his allegiance: *Philip* fearing that was but policy (leſt *Decius* ſhould be ſtronger by delayes) haſted himſelf with a great Army, and being overcome was ſlain by the ſouldiers at *Verona*, his head being cut off through the teeth.

At the newes whereof the Pretorian ſouldiers ſlew his ſon, but 12 years old; who was ſo compoſed, that it from the 5 year of his age none could make him laugh: and when his Father was tickled with laughter at the ſecular playes, he looked on him with an eſtranged countenance.

The time of their raign was 7 years ſay ſome, others ſay 6, ſome but 5.

The elder *Philips* age is not related by any *Hiſtorian*.

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# *Choyce Observations*

## OF

## TRAJANUS DECIUS,

And his Son

## ETRUSCUS DECIUS.

*DECIVS* was elected Emperour by the *Persian* legions, proclaimed in *Verona* by the *Roman* souldiers, and had the voices of the *Senate* to confirm him.

He was noble by birth, an experienced, wise and valiant Prince; and might have been reckoned among the best; had he not with an heathenish rage persecuted the *Christians*, being Author of the seventh *persecution*.

He put more *Christians* to death in a year and an half, than *Trajan* (whose name he had, and whom he would have been thought to resemble) in 20. *Tristan*.

The *Novatians* would not communicate with them, who had denyed the faith in the persecution of *Decius*, and afterwards repenting turned to the same faith again, *Nicephorus Callistus* l. 12. c. 28. The fear of his persecution gave the original to a Monkish life.

He

He was victorious against the *Gothes*, and joyning a fresh battail with them, was overthrown by the treason of *Gallus* his General: saith *Pomponius Lætus*.

Of Brutus saith *Aur. Victor.*

His son was mortally wounded by an arrow, he leaping into a whirl pool was never seen after.

*Tristan* thinketh this misfortune befell *Decius* for a punishment of his persecutions.

*Vopiscus* in the life of *Aurelian*, and *Pomponius Lætus* compare *Decius* and his son with the *Decii Mures*, who devoted themselves to destruction in a dangerous fight, for the safety of their Country, which depended thereupon. But the comparison doth not agree saith *Tristan*. For the 2 ancient *Decii* rendred the *Romans* victorious by their death, whereas these by theirs made them slaves to the *Barbarians*, and lost many of their Provinces. Besides that *Decius* the Father was drowned and swallowed up in his flight, which hath no resemblance with the end of the *Decii* of the ancient Commonwealth.

He dyed at the age of 50, having reigned 2 years.

*Choyce*

# Choyce Observations OF TREBONIANUS GALLUS, And his Son VOLUSIANUS.

GALLVS appearing much grieved for *Decius* his death, was not suspected; which facilitated his attaining of the Empire.

He caused *Virtus Augustorum* to be stamped upon his and his sons medails, as if he had got the Empire by valour and not by deceit.

Under these two Emperours arose a plague in *Ethiopia*, which spred it self by degrees in all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, and lasted 15 years together, without intermission; and so great was the mortality, that in *Alexandria*, as *Dionisius* himself (at that time the Bishop of that Sea) reports, there was not one house of the City free, and the remainder of the inhabitants equall'd not the number of old men in former times: By means whereof St. *Cyprian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, who lived in that age, took occasion to write that excellent Treatise *de Mortalitate*: And *Lipsius* his censure of this pestilence is, *Non alia unquam major lues*

*Solâ pestilentiâ, morbis atque, & aegritudinibus, Galli & Volusiani notus fuit principatus.* Eutropius.

*lues mihi lecta, spatio temporum sive terrarum.*

*Æmilianus* his General having overcome the *Gothes*, grew so proud thereupon, that he aspired to the Empire, which he purchased by the good will of the souldiers, who slew *Gallus* and his Son in battail.

*Dekippus* who lived in those times saith he governed but 18 months.

# Choyce Observations

## OF

# ÆMILIANUS.

HE was an *African* of obscure parentage, and arose to be a General from a common souldier.

His election was at first contradicted by the *Italian* band, who sought to make *Valerian* Emperour, to which the Senate inclined, because of *Valerians* renown. *Æmilians* Army hearing of the election of *Valerian*, tumultuously murdered their own creature, who reigned almost 4. months.

Some reckon him among Usurpers, but his title is allowed by *Eutropius*.

Of 30 Emperours who reigned since *Octavius Augustus* time, untill *Valerian*, 6 of them escaped not the hands of murtherers. *Lloids* consent of time.

# Choyce Observations

## OF

## VALERIANUS.

HE was nobly descended, and of such esteem among the *Romans* that being a private man, and absent they chose him for their *Censor*; an office of great dignity, ever conferred upon the best saith *Trebellius Pollio* who wrote his life.

*Valeriani vita censura est.*

At the beginning of his reign he was gracious to the *Christians* above any of his Predecessors, but after being perverted by an *Egyptian* magician and *Macrianus*, he was author of the 8 persecution.

*Massa Candida in Africa.*

He was very cruel; pulled out the eyes of young children thereby consulting of future Events.

In his reign there suffred 300 Martyrs together at *Carthage*, whom the Governour of the City commanded either to throw frankincense into the fire (set before them) in honour of *Iupiter*, or else to cast themselves head-long into a Brick kiln hard by, which they did, chusing rather to embrace fire, than resist light. *Prudentius* in Peristeph.

When he warred in *Mesopotamia*, he was taken prisoner by *Sapor* King of *Persia* (through the treachery of *Macrianus*) and used like a slave as long as he lived, *Sapor* set-

ſetting his foot upon his neck whenſoever he mounted on horſe-back, to the utmoſt viliſying of Majeſty, and the regret of divers interceeding Princes.

It was the moſt ſignal affront which the *Romans* hitherto ever received in the perſon of their Emperours. *Triſtan.*

At laſt ſaith *Euſebius*, by *Sapors* command, his eyes were pulled out, wherewith he dyed; *Agathias* ſaith he was flayed alive, and rubbed all over with ſalt: a calamity which may challenge tears of blood.

He lived along, but diſgraceſull age; was 76 years old before he was taken priſoner: after his captivity he lived 7 years in reproches, and then died a violent death. A man of a poor mind, and not valiant; notwithſtanding lifted up in his own, and the opinion of men, but falling ſhort in the performance. Sr. *Fr. Bacon.* *Infeliciſsimus Principum a filio Gallieno in Deos relatus eſt, quaſi Deum facere poſſet, quem liberum facere aut nequiverat, aut neglexerat,* Cluverus.

Gallienus *tam claro Dei judicio territus miſeroque collegæ permotus exemplo, pacem Eccleſiæ trepidâ ſatisfactione reſtituit,* ſaith *Oroſius.*

*Choyce*

## Choyce Observations.

# GALLIENUS.

WHen *Valerian* his Father was taken prisoner, he was made Emperour.

He was expert in Oratory, Poetry, and all other arts, but was defective in other qualifications which are requisite in an Emperour.

*Initio imperium fœliciter, mox commodè, ad ultimum perniciosè gessit,* Eutropius.

At first he acted like a valiant Captain, overcame and slew *Ingenuus* (who usurped the Empire) as also *Trebellianus*; & overcame 300000 *Gothes*, & *Almans*, having but 10000 on his side (saith *Zonaras*) but after he gave himself so much to sensuality, that when the World was infected with Warres, he continued for the most part in *Rome* among whores, compassed with Roses and Flowers, seeking new delights, often bathing himself, studying how he might keep Figs and other fruits green all the year; having ordinarily at his table most exquisite and delicate meats, and of great cost. *Trebellius Pollio* in *Gallieno* c. 16.

He commanded one, who had sold counterfeit jewels to his Wife, to be cast to a Lion; but the den being opened, nothing came forth but a Capon: at which when the people wondered, he bade the Cryer proclaim;

claim, *Impoſturam fecit & paſſus eſt*; being content to have the impoſtor more frighted than hurt. *Id. ib.* c. 12. *Videſis* Chriſtiani Matthiæ *Theatrum Hiſtoricum Theoretico-practicum.* p. 263.

When a ſhooting prize was played before him, he gave the garland to one who ſhot alwayes wide, concluding that it was the more improbable difficulty to aim ſo often, and never to hit. *Taurum toties non ſagittis vel jaculis ferire difficile eſt.* Id. ib.

Whē it was told him that *Egypt* rebelled, he anſwered, *Cannot we live without the linen of Egypt?* Being advertiſed of the loſſe of other Provinces, he anſwered ſo ſcornfully, that he ſeemed to care for nothing: which occaſioned 30 Tyrants to make themſelves Emperours in his time; whereof two were Women, *Zenobia* and *Victoria.*

In his reign the Heavens were darkned ſo that the Sun was not ſeen for many dayes; in the bowels of the earth were heard roarings, with the fear whereof many dyed; Earth-quakes threw down many houſes, whereby the Inhabitants were deſtroyed; theſe Earth-quakes were frequent in *Rome*, *Africk*, but eſpecially in *Aſia*; the Earth opened in many places, and ſhewed Vaults and Caves, from whence ſalt-water ſtreamed; and ſeveral Cities were drowned by the Sea: and in *Rome* there dyed above 5000 in one day of the peſtilence. *Treb. Pollio* c. 5.

*Gallienus* addicted onely to his pleaſures,

was not affected with these calamities, thinking they proceeded rather from chance than any signal punishment.

He grieved not for his Fathers captivity, but, when he was informed of it, said, alluding to the speech of *Xenophon* the Philosopher, who having lost his son, said, *Sciebam me genuisse mortalem; Sciebam patrem meum esse mortalem*: *I knew that my Father was lyable to the same miseries as other men. Nec defuit Annius Cornicula, qui eum quasi constantem Principem falsò sua voce laudaret, pejor tamen ille qui credidit*, saith *Pollio*, c.17. *videsis* Cuspinianum *in Gallieno.*

*Odenatus* though an Independent Prince, was of such moderation, that he held correspondence with *Gallienus*, & sent him such of the *Persian* Nobility as he had taken prisoners, for monuments of his victory over *Sapor*, and revenge of the indignities offered to *Valerian*: thus *Odenatus* conquered, and *Gallienus* triumphed, who when he could not eclipse *Odenatus* his merit by any Princely vertue, nor suppresse it by valour, sought to deface it by treachery; but failing of his aimes therein, he made him partner of the Empire for fear; *Odenatus* receiving the titles of *Imperator*, and *Augustus*, from *Gallienus* and the Senate.

Being not ashamed ridiculously to triumph over the *Persians*, who detained his Father prisoner, & to lead thē captive in his mock-shew; some jeering companions mixing themselves with the *Persians*, exactly viewed

viewed their countenances, and being asked wherefore they did it, answered, We seek for his Majesties Father; which when *Gallienus* heard of, he was so incensed at the taunt, that he commanded those who uttered it to be burned alive.

The *Scythians* invading *Cappadocia*, the souldiers attempt to make a new Emperour, for which *Gallienus* put them all to the sword, *Pollio* c. 11.

In his time the City *Byzantium* (renowned for sea-fights, and the place which barreth in the *Euxine* Sea) was destroyed by his souldiers; to revenge which, he being received into *Byzantium*, compassed them unarmed with armed souldiers, and slew them contrary to his covenant. And as if he had done some great matter, he posteth to *Rome*, and summoning the Senatours, appointeth *decennial* playes to be celebrated *novo genere ludorum, nova specie pomparum, exquisito genere voluptatum*, saith *Pollio* c. 7.

He killed sometimes 3 or 4000 souldiers in a day. *Id. Ib.* c. 18.

At last he himself with his brother *Valerian* and his son *Gallienus* were slain near *Milain* (where he besieged *Aureolus*) by the treachery of *Marcianus Ceronius*, or *Cecropius* and *Heraclian*. Pollio. c. 14. aliter *Aur. Victor.*

He lived 50 years, reigned 15, 7 with his Father, 8 alone.

# Choyce Observations

OF

# CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS,

And his Brother

# QUINTILLUS.

CLAUDIUS was appointed Emperour by the will of *Gallienus* being ready to dy, unto whō by *Gallonius Basilius*, he sent the Imperial Robes to *Ticinum*.

He was elected by the souldiers before the Walles of *Milain*, and confirmed in *Rome* by the Senate with much joy.

He was so renowned a Prince, that he was said to have *Augustus* his moderation, *Trajans* vertue, and *Antoninus* his piety met in him.

A Woman desiring him after he was Emperour, to restore an inheritance, which he had unjustly took from her when he was but a private person; he graciously granted her requeſt, saying, *Quod Claudius dum privatus erat, nec leges curabat, abstulit; factus Imperator restituit.* Zonaras.

In his time *Athens* was ransacked by *Gothes*, who piled heaps of Books to burn, but were advised by one to for bear, that the Grecians spending their time in them, might be lesse fit for war. *Cedrenus. B. Egnatius.*

Judi-

*Judicium barbari non prorsus vanum. Etsi Cleodemus Athenienſis, fuga elapſus, coactaque manu & navibus hoſtes invadens, Græcis librorum tractatione virtutem non demi ipſorum clade docuit.* Heidmannus *in Epitome Hiſtorica de Imp. Rom. in Claudio. ex Zonora.*

*Aureolus* being ſlain by his own company, *Claudius* received the government of thoſe Countries, and fighting againſt the *Almains*, he overthrew above half of them. *S. Aur. Victor.*

*He* waged war with the *Gothes*, who infeſted the Empire 15 years with continual irruptions (ſaith *Iornandes*) and now in league with many barbarous Nations, invaded *Thrace* and the Countries before them, even to *Macedonia*; and thence came through *Hungary* down *Danubius* with 2000 ſaile of ſhips fraught with munition and men: to meet which *Claudius* prepared, and engaged them ſo valiantly, that he ſlew and took 320000 men, and 2000 ſhips laden with ſhields, ſwords, lances, &c. ſo that houſes were filled therewith.

He intended to go againſt *Tetricus* and *Zenobia*, but was hindred by a fever which ſoon put an end to his life. He reigned 1 year, 10 months and 15 dayes. *He* was deifyed by the Senate; had a ſtatue of gold 10 foot high erected in the *Capitol* in honour of him by the people at their own coſt, (which they never did to any before:) and a target of the ſame metal, with his picture in it, was hung up in the Court by the Se-

nates appointment. There was also by general consent set up for him a pillar composed of the prowes of ships; upon which was placed his statue, representing him clothed with his *Consular* robe, of 1500 pound weight of silver.

It was a providence, that *Claudius* found the Empire so beset with enemies, that he could not exercise so much cruelty as he intended against the Christians.

*Julian* feigneth that *Constantine* the great and his children were delivered from torments in Hell, in favour to *Claudius* their ancestor; the reason of which fiction of that *Apostate* was certainly, because *Claudius* was a great persecutor. *Trislan.*

His brother *Quintillus* endeavoured to succeed, and was chosen Emperour, but being not able to resist *Aurelian*, chosen at the same time by the army, he made away himself by opening a vein, at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, say some, having reigned but 17 dayes; but others write that he was killed by the souldiers.

Choyce

# *Choyce Observations*

## OF

# AURELIANUS.

HIS Parents being mean, he followed the Warres, and advanced himself thereby.

There being in the Army another tribune, who was named *Aurelian*, and had been taken prisoner with *Valerian* the Emperour, to distinguish the one from the other, this was called *Aurelian with his hand upon his sword*; he being upon all occasions with a weapon in his hand, ready for service. *Vopiscus* in Aureliano. c. 6.

Aurelianus *manu ad ferrum.*

He was very temperate, made no use of Physicians when he was sick, but cured all excesse by abstinence. *Id. ibid.* c. 50.

Though temperate himself, yet he delighted in *Phago*, who in his presence at one meal ate 100 loaves, and a boar, with a weather and a pig; and drank through a tundish *plus orcâ*, which *Lipsius* saith was bigger than the *Amphora*, but how much he knoweth not: and honoured *Bonosus* a great drinker; of whom he was wont to say, *Non ut vivat natus est, sed ut bibat: He was not born to draw in breath, but beer.*

The *Amphora Capitolina* held 6 Gallons.

*Aurelian* married this *Bonosus* a Spaniard

(but son of an English man) to *Hunila* a noble Gothish Woman, meerly that by her means he might discover the *Gothes* secrets. *Vopiscus* in Bonoso.

*Aurelian* appointed *Bonosus* to carouse with Embassadours, that they might be brought to bewray secrets by this *lene tormentum*; whilest he (who had this wonderfull property, that he could pisse as fast as he drunk, without containing any jot within his body) faultred not, but was more discreet. *Id. ibid.*

[ *Schenkius arma nunquam accuratius tractabat, quàm quum effusè potus, ac vino amens: immo ebrietate ipsa, quæ resignare ac aperire occulta quæque consuveerit, illum ad arcana occultanda uti solitum ferunt.* Strada *Belli Belgici Decade secunda*, l. 10.

*Aurelian* was Colonel of Horse under *Claudius* in *Persia*; he slew in one day 48 of his Enemies with his own hands in the War against the *Sarmatians*: and slew in severall dayes above 950; whereupon Ballads were sung by Boyes on Festivals in praise of him. *Vopiscus* in Aureliano, *c.* 6.

When the Enemies of the *Romans*, had overrun all *France*, he made such havock of them at *Mentz*, that he slew 700, and sold 300 *sub corona*; upon which occasion new Iggs were made. *Id. ib.* c. 7.

He overcame all his Enemies in 3 years, whereas *Alexander* the Great travelled 13 years by great victories, before he came into *India*. *Cæsar* spent 10 years in overcoming

coming the *Gaules*, and 4 years in conquering the *Romans*. *S. Aur. Victor.*

He caused a Souldier, who had committed Adultery with his Hostesse, to have his feet tyed to the tops of 2 Trees bent downward, and suffered suddenly to start back again; so the wretch was twitched in sunder, and hung on both sides in halves. See *Macrinus*, p. 177.

He wrote to one of his Lieutenants, *If thou wilt be a Captain, nay if thou wilt live, contain thy Souldiers in their duty. I will not have a peasant wronged in a Chicken, nor a Grape taken without his permission; not a grain of Salt, or a drop of Oil unjustly exacted. I desire my Souldiers should be enriched with spoils of Enemies, not the tears of my Subjects. I would have them chast in their Quarters, & no Quarrellers.* Which commands *Baronius* compareth with that of *Iohn* the *Baptist* to the souldiers, *Luk.* 3. 14

He advanced *Tetricus* (one of the 30 Tyrants in *Gallienus* his time, whom he overcame) and made him Provost of *Lucania*, who had been before proclaimed Emperour by the *French* Army; elegantly upbraiding him, *That it was more majestical to rule some part of* Italy, *than to reign beyond the* Alpes. *S. Aur. Victor.*

Being incensed against *Tyana*, because the Gates of the City were shut against him, he vowed, *He would not leave a Dog in it*; but having taken it, upon a fright by the ghost of *Apollonius Tyanæus* dead long before, he commanded his Souldiers to kill all the Dogs, but spare the Citizens. *Grande Princi-* See in *Herberts* Travels the pillar of beasts heads erected at *Spahawn* on such an occasion.

*pis*

*pis dictum, grandius militum votum: nam dictum Principis quo præda negabatur, civitas servabatur, totus exercitus ita quasi ditaretur, accepit.* Vopiscus.

*Aurelian* demanding how he might govern well, was answered by a great personage; *You must be provided with Iron and Gold; Iron to use against your Enemies, and Gold to reward your friends.* Zonoras.

His chief engagement was against *Zenobia*, the most beautiful, chast, learned, wise, and valiant Woman of that age.

Her Letter in answer to him, who sorely tired, profered her life, and liberty, and wealth, if she would yield, sheweth her resolves for fight.

He was so inraged at her haughty reply, that he forthwith besieged *Palmyra*, destroyed her aids, and at last took her prisoner, whom he led in triumph; *ea specie, ut nihil pompabilius populo Rom. videretur*, saith *Treb. Pollio in Zenobia.*

He put *Longinus* to death upon a supposition that he dictated *Zenobias* Epistle. He is called *Necessarius magis quàm bonus Imperator*, because he wanted clemency, which is *Imperatorum dos prima*, saith *Vopiscus.*

He was so bloody, that he put to death his own Sisters son.

Being about to signe an edict for the 9 persecution (of which he was the author) God hindred his purpose. *Theodoret.* l. 4. reportes of *Valens* the *Arrian* Emperour) that as he was attempting to sign an edict for

for the baniſhing of *Baſil*, he could not write one tittle of a Letter, Providence breaking his Pen 3 ſeveral times; at the fourth aſſay his hand was ſtruck with a palſy, cramping (as it were his knuckles, and thereupon as a man affrighted, with his own hands he tore the paper in pieces; manifeſting to all, that the Princes of this World have no power to practiſe any thing againſt the Church, any farther than God permitteth. *Euſebius* l.7. *Haymo* l.7.c.11.

At the ſame time alſo a Thunder-bolt fell ſo near him, that all thought he was ſlain; by which meſſenger God warned him to be wiſe, leſt he periſhed in thoſe deſtructive wayes, as ſhortly after he did; *Mneſtheus* his Secretary fearing puniſhment for ſome offence, for which the Emperour threatned him with death, and knowing that he uſed not to pardon if he threatned, counterfeited the Emperours hand, and wrote the names of many in a rowl as appointed by him to dy; mixing the names of ſome, with whom the Emperour was truly offended, with thoſe of others whom he was not diſpleaſed with, adding his own name that he might the eaſilyer be believed. They upon ſight hereof, thinking to prevent the worſt, ſlew him in a Caſtle called *Cœnophrurium*, betwixt *Ryzantium* and *Heraclea*.

When *Mneſtheus* his Treaſon was diſcovered, he was caſt to wild beaſts, as appeareth by marble ſtatues erected in honour of *Aurelian*, even by thoſe who ſlew him.

He

He reigned 4 years, 11 months, and 7 dayes. *Vopiſcus* calleth him *Bonum Medicum, ſed mala ratione curantem*; A good Phyſician, had he not adminiſtred too bitter potions: in reference to which, *Julian* feigneth that he had much ado to defend himſelf at the tribunal of *Minos*, before whom many accuſed him of unjuſtice; but that the *Sun*, who had alwayes in his life ſpecially aſſiſted him in all his enterpriſes, excuſed him to the other Gods, ſaying, *That he had been punished enough by his death*, according to the Delphick Oracle, which ſaith:

Εἰτε παθοι τὰ κ' ἔρεξε, δίκη δ' ἰθεῖα γένητο.

*Iudicium, ſi quis quæ fecit perferat, æquũ eſt.*

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*Choyce*

# *Choyce Observations* OF TACITUS, And his Brother FLORIANUS.

UPon the death of *Aurelian*, the Souldiers who would not have any of his assassinates to succeed, sent to the Senate to chuse an Emperour; the Senate refer the election to the Souldiers, who, they knew, used not to be pleased with the Senates choice: half a year passed in complements with a peaceable *interregnum*, at last, the Senate and Souldiers joyntly elect *Tacitus*.

He retired to his mannor in *Campania*, where he was secret 2 moneths, shunning that dignity which might prove his overthrow; was often sollicited, but, with hearty thanks, absolutely denied; affirming his age made him unable to satisfy expectations: at length, necessity of state so requiring, he accepted of their proffer; at which all rejoyced but himself.

He was such an example of moderation to others, that he permitted not his Empresse to wear jewels. See *Alexander Severus*, p. 192.

He

He called *September Tacitus*, becauſe he was born and made Emperour in that month.

He honoured *Tacitus* the *Hiſtorian*, whom he called his Father, commanded his Works to be put in every Library through the Empire, to be tranſcribed 10 times every year at publick coſt. *Vopiſcus in Tacito*, c. 10.

When the Senate choſe him Emperour, they cryed out, *Quis meliùs quàm gravis imperat? & quis meliùs quàm literatus imperat?*

When he objected his age, they anſwered, that *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and *Antoninus* were old, when they came to the Empire; whom they mentioned becauſe they reigned well and fortunately: omitting *Veſpaſian*, *Nerva*, *Pertinax*, *Macrinus* and *Decius*, who came older to the Empire; but their reign was ſhort, eſpecially that of the four laſt: the three laſt alſo dyed a violent death. *Triſtan.*

When the Senate denyed him the Conſulſhip, which he ſought for his brother *Florianus*, he took it very well, ſaying; *Sit Senatus quem Principem fecerit.* Vopiſcus.

He gave the Souldiers all the mony he had in ſilver, which was a great ſumme; he having had more than 9 millions in gold for his patrimony.

His death was cauſed by grief occaſined by factions, infirmity of age helping to break his heart and his life, when he had reigned 6 months. *Vopiſcus.*

His brother *Florianus* ambitiouſly ſtrove to get the Empire as true heir, though he knew *Tacitus* was engaged to the Senate, that he would prefer worth before his re-

relations in the deſignation of his Succeſſour.

Being not able to withſtand *Probus* who was choſen by the Army, he was killed by the Souldiers, ſay ſome; but moſt write, that by opening a vein he killed himſelf at *Tarſus*, as *Quintillus* alſo did, who was reduced to the ſame extremity.

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*Choyce*

# Choyce Observations OF PROBUS.

UPon *Tacitus* his death, the Army unanimously cryed out, *Let us have* Probus *for our Emperour*; and the Senate with applause confirmed the election.

The manner of his being chosen by the Souldiers was thus; The Officers told them the requisites of one that should be elected, that he should be *Fortis, Sanctus, Verecundus, Clemens, Probus*: which when it was spoke to many companies, on all sides they cryed out as it were by a divine instinct, *Probe Auguste, Dii te servent.* Vopiscus *in Probo*, c. 10.

*Valerian* the Emperour called him *Verè Probum*, saying in an epistle, that if he had not had *Probus* for his *name*, he deserved to have had it for his *surname*. Id ib. *c.* 4.

He was made tribune by *Valerian*, in which office he served under *Gallienus, Claudius, Aurelian*, and *Tacitus*.

His first service, after he became Emperour, was in *France*, against the *Germans* who had conquered it; wherein one battel he slew almost 400000 *Germans*, 9 of whose Kings prostrated themselve sat his feet: he won

*Vopiscus in Probo*, c. 13. 14, 15. *Iulianus in Cæsaribus.*

won also and repaired 70 of their Cities in lesse than 7 years.

The Egyptians electing *Saturninus* a wise and valiant Captain Emperour, so sore against his will, that he was like to be slain for gain-saying their desires; *Probus* hasting towards them offered them pardon, out of an unwillingnes to shed civil blood, or to loose such a man as *Saturninus*: but upon refusal of his clemency, he engaged in a sharp battail, wherein most of the revolters were overthrown, and *Saturninus* slain in the assault of a besieged Castle, to the grief of *Probus* who sought to save his life. *Vopiscus in Saturnino.*

*Bonosus* who had charge of ships, which the Germans burned in the mouth of the Rhine through his negligence, if not treachery; who fearing punishment for his fault, rebelled against *Probus*, but was overcome and through despair hung himself: whereupon it was said, *Amphoram pendere, non hominem*; *That a barrell or tankard hung there, and not a man*; because he was so given to drink. *Vopiscus in Bonoso.*

There rebelled also against *Probus*, *Proculus* as insatiate a vassal to *Venus*, as *Bonosus* was to *Bacchus*; so impudent that he did not onely cõmit filthinesse, but boasted of it, as appeareth by his Letter wherein he braggeth that having taken 100 *Sarmatian* Virgins he deprived 10 of that name in a night, and all the rest within a fortnight: *inter fortes se haberi credens si criminum densitate coaleseat*, saith *Vopiscus in Proculo.*

He honoured *Aradion* a most valiant man (whom he overcame in wrestling) with a tomb 200 foot broad remaining in *Vopiscus* his time; which he caused the souldiers, whom he never suffered to be idle, to erect: testifying the greatness of his respect by his largenes of his monument. *Vopiscus in Probo c.9.*

*Quo latior agri modus sepulchro assignabatur, eo magis crescebat honos.* Casaubonus.

Being presented with a Horse taken in War, which it was said, could go an 100 mile in a day, for 8 or 10 dayes together, he said, *He was fitter for a cowardly than a valiant souldier.* Id. Ibid. *c.*8.

Some say he was the last Emperour who triumphed, after his Victory over the *Germans* and the *Blemiæ* a people of *Africk*.

He commanded to be let loose at once 1000 estriches, 1000 stags, 1000 wild boars, 1000 fallow dear beside wild goats, wild sheep, and other creatures which fed upon grasse, as many as could be fed or found; which he gave to the people to catch as they could; the *Circus* being set all over with great trees, which by the souldiers were taken up by the roots, as they grew in the woods, and planted there with green turf about them, and fastned with beams and irons: next day he let into the same place 100 maned Lyons, which filled the air with roaring as if it had thundred; 100 Lybian Leopards, 100 Syrian, 100 Lioness, and 300 beares. *Vopiscus in Probo.c.19.*

As

As *Hanibal* filled moſt parts of *Africk* with Olive-yards planted by his ſouldiers that they might not be idle, to the indangering of the Common-wealth; ſo *Probus*, who for his famous acts is compared with *Hanibal* and *Cæſar*, for the ſame reaſon cauſed his ſouldiers to plant vineyards throughout all *France*, both the *Pannonias*, and the *Myſian* hills. *Aur. Victor.*

He undid himſelf by that ſpeech of his; *Brevi milites neceſſarios non futuros*: wherewith the ſouldiers being offended murdered him, when he had lived 75 years, and reigned 6 years 4 moneths; others ſay 6 years.

*Iulian* feigneth that *Silenus* reproched him with his ſeverity towards his ſouldiers, who added that he underwent deſerved puniſhment, though unjuſtly inflicted by them.

It is thought, that becauſe he ſuffered the Chriſtians to live in peace, God gave him ſo many victories againſt the Barbarians.

# *Choyce Obſervations*

## OF

# CARUS,
With his Sons
# CARINUS
And
# NUMERIANUS.

PROBVS being ſlain the Army choſe *Carus* Emperour, whereunto the Senate conſented.

The *Sarmatians* threatning *Italy* he engaged with them, and overthrew them with the ſlaughter of 16000, taking 20000 priſoners. *Vopiſcus in Caro*, c. 9.

Leaving *Carinus* his elder ſon to govern *Britain*, *France*, *Illyricum*, *and Spain*; he prepared with *Numerian* againſt the *Perſians*, in which expedition he took in his way *Meſopotamia*, *Cteſiphon*, *&c.* Whereby he purchaſed the ſurname of *Perſicus*.

Embaſſadors coming to him from the King of *Perſia*, find him lying upon the graſſe, eating black broath and morſels of ſwines-fleſh; (whom he bade to tell their young maſter: *If he continued obſtinate, within one moneth, all his woods and fields ſhould be as bare as his bald pate*, which he ſhewed; offering them to eat out of the pot, if they pleaſed, otherwiſe to depart forthwith.

*Lipſius*

*Lipsius* in his Notes to his second Book of Politicks and the fifteenth Chapter out of *Synesius de Regno*, where see *Petarius* who applieth it to *Probus*.

Surprized with sickness he pitched his tent on the shore of *Tigris*; where he and others were slain in their beds by a thunder-bolt.

*Fulmine captus Imperator*
*Vitam fulminibus parem peregit.*
Sidonius Apollinaris.

*Arrius Aper* a Pretorian prefect having murdered *Numerian* (his Son-in-law) being troubled with sore eyes upon his return from *Persia* (saith *Zonaras*) pretended to those of the Army who enquired how he did, that his infirmity onely kept him from sight, but at length his treason was discovered by the putrefaction of *Numerians* body. Whereupon he being brought by the souldiers before the tribunal was slain by *Diocletian*; who was both his Judge and Executioner. *Vopiscus in Numeriano.*

*Carinus* gave himself to all lusts, married 9 Wives and then divorced them being big with child; he was twice overcome by *Diocletian*, and slain by a Tribune, whose wife he had abused. *Vopiscus in Carino.*

Some say *Carus* and his Sons reigned but 2 years or some what more, others say but a little above one.

These 7 Emperours *Claudius* his brother *Quintillus*, *Aurelian*, *Tacitus*, his brother, *Florian* *Probus* and *Carus* reigned but 18 years. *Lloids* Consent of Times.

# Choyce Observations

OF

DIOCLETIANUS,
And
MAXIMIANUS. } Collegues

DIOCLETIANS parentage is uncertainly reported, some making him the son of a Scrivener, and others of a bondman made free by *Anulinus* a Senatour: but all agree that he was a *Dalmatian* of base birth.

The name of his Mother (and of the Town wherein he was born) was *Dioclea*, whence he was called *Diocles* till he came to be Emperour, and then named himself *Diocletian* (converting a Greek name into a Roman form) and upon the conquest of the Persians and Egyptians, *Iovius*; as *Maximian* his Collegue stiled himself *Hercullus*: *velut ille* Iovis, *hic* Herculis *hæres* saith *P. Lætus*, who parallels *Diocletian* with *Iupiter*, and *Maximian* with *Hercules*.

When *Diocletian* serving as common souldier in *France*, reckoned with his hostesse (one of the *Druides*) she told him he vvas too penurious; he jeastly ansvvered, that he vvould be bountiful vvhen he came to the Empe

rour of *Rome*: ſhe bid him not jeaſt, ſaying; *Imperator eris, cum aprum occideris.*

From that time he hunted often and killed many boares, to ſee if a Crown would ſpring from their blood; but he ſtill miſſed the Empire, which he ſaw *Aurelian*, *Tacitus Probus* and *Carus* obtained, whereupon he ſaid: I *kill many boars, but others go away with the fleſh.*

At laſt *Aper* having killed *Numerianus* (as is before mentioned) was brought by the ſouldiers before *Diocletian*, who being told his name, (and concluding at length that the predictiõ was to be underſtood of a man preſently killed him; in outward ſhew for zeal of juſtice, as being not able to endure ſo foul a fact: but in truth to fulfill the prediction of his hoſteſſe, the *Druid*; for that *Aper* ſignifieth a Boar. *Vopiſcus in Numeriano* ſaith that his Grand-father, from whom he had this report, was preſent when *Aper* was ſlain, to whom *Diocletian*, when he ſtruck him, ſaid in a bravado; *Gloriare Aper, Æneæ magni dextra cadis*: adding; *Tandem Aprum fatalem occidi.*

*Oraculum apud Plutarchum monebat quendam ut anguem ſedulò vitaret: id cum præſtaret ille, in militem cui anguish inſigne clypei erat, incidit, ac obtruncatus fuit. Quanquam putem ego (pace magni iſtius Philoſophi, & Hiſtorici tamen) monuiſſe Deum ut ἀπίδα vitaret, quod commune nomen & clypei & ſerpentis eſt, ita oraculo illi æquivocatio ſua conſtat.* Heinſius *in Crepundiis. Vide* Val. Maximum *l. c.* 8. *de* Daphida & Philippo Macedone.

*Diocletian* was the firſt who wore cloath of gold, trod on ſilk and purple embelliſhed with pearls; and (next after *Caligula* and *Domitian*) was the firſt, who would be ſued unto as a god, though (ſaith *Aur. Victor*) he carried himſelf liker a Father, than a Tyrant.

*Omnibus æquandus principibus, ſi à piorum*

*ſanguine abſtinuiſſeth*, ſaith *B. Egnatius*. It was a good ſpeech of him though an evil Emperour, *That the beſt and moſt wary Prince may be abuſed by bad ſervants*. Vopiſcus *in Aureliano*.

Notwithſtanding his cruelty condemned even by *Libanius* a Heathen (in his Oration to *Theodoſius* the Great) yet he counterfeited *Clemency*, and in appearance had the memory of *Marcus Aurelius* in great veneration, as a God, ſaying often that he deſired to reſemble him in humanity. *Capitolinus in Marco Antonino Philoſopho.*

Theſe 2 Emperours choſe 2 *Cæſars*; *Diocletian* choſe *Galerius* ſurnamed *Armentarius*, and *Maximian*; *Conſtantius Chlorus*, enforcing them to put away their wives, and *Theodora* take their Daughters for an aſſurance of love by the bonds of that alliance *Aur. Victor.*

*Diocletian* by his profound wiſdom, wherewith he was endued, found out a more aſſured way to ſecure himſelf againſt rebellions, than others had diſcovered: for having taken *Maximian* for his companion and allie: and aftetwards created *Galerius* and *Conſtantius Cæſars*, he rendred himſelf formidable to thoſe who deſired to make themſelves Emperours. For in what part ſoever the rebels roſe, one of theſe four was upon their backs, and ſtifled them in the birth. Onely *Carauſius*, whom the ſituation of great *Britain* rendred invincible, ſtood out 7 years. But all the other who had

had the the boldneſs to make themſelves Emperours, as *Ælianus*, *Amandus*, *Julianus*, &c. were quickly defeated, before they could make any conſiderable progreſſe. *Triſtan.*

In the 19 year of his reign he raiſed the 10 and extremeſt perſecution, wherein 17000 men women and children were martyred within one moneth, beſides infinite numbers otherwiſe puniſhed: the Chriſtians torments laſting 10 years without intermiſſion, no place being free.

*Quæ perſecutio omnibus ferè antecẽſis diuturnior atque immanior fuit.* P. Oroſius, *l.* 7. *c.* 25. *Inceſſabiliter acta eſt.* Id. ibid.

*Nullus dies cui non ultra quinque millium numerum Martyrum reperiri poſſet aſcriptus, excepto die Calendarum Ianuarii.*

There was never a day in the year, except the firſt of *Ianuary*, whereto the number of 5000 Martyrs at the leaſt might not be aſcribed ſaith *Hierome* in his Epiſtle *ad Heliodorum & Chromatium.*

*Quis non horreat in una Ægypto 144 millia mortalium cæſa, 700 millia in exilium acta; præter Africam totamque Europam in carnificinam verſas? ut totum orcum dicas in orbem effuſum, ubi nemo niſi tortus vel tortor ſit.* Buſſieres *in Floſculis Hiſtoricis.*

*Maximian* at *Octodurum* commandeth the Army to ſacrifice to falſe gods; the *Theban Legion* conſiſting of 6666 Chriſtians remove their quarters to *Agaunum*, to avoid (if poſſible) occaſion of diſcontenting the Emperour; who ſummoneth them to perform their parts in this deviliſh worſhip: they return an humble denyal, with their reſolve

solve not to disobey God, for whose sake they would ever continue faithfull to him. He unsatisfied with this answer, putteth them to a *decimation*; to which they submit with cheerfulness, praying for their murderer. His commands are renewed but prevail not on the remainder, who are butchered without resistance, there being no delay in their death, except from the wearines of their executioners. *Mauricius* their Colonel could not contain his joy, when he saw the first decimation gallantly suffered. *How feareful was I*, said he to his, awhile, surviving souldiers (for armed men may be tempted to defend themselves) *lest any of them might upon colour of just resistance for self-preservation in an innocent cause have strugled against this blessed slaughter. I was watchful and had Christs example in readines, who commanded his Disciple to put his sword into his scabbard. Salus vestra non periclitabitur, nisi armis vestris.* Despair it self could not conquer one single patience, which yet createth valour in cowards, and maketh them more couragious in such extremities, because they are fearfull; since they are likely to do most to preserve life, who are most afraid of death. *Eucherius Lugdunensis.*

*Diocletiano & Maximiano imperantibus, acerbissima persecutio exorta, quæ per decem continuos annos plebem Dei depopulata est, quâ tempestate omnis ferè sacro martyrum cruore orbis infectus est: quippe certatim gloriosa in certamina ruebatur, multoque avidius tum martyria glorio-*

*sis*

*sis mortibus quærebantur, quàm nunc Episcopatus pravis ambitionibus appetuntur. Nullus unquam bellis mundus magis exhaustus est, neque unquam majore ttiumpho vicimus, quàm cùm decem annorum stragibus vinci non potuimus.* Sulpitius Severus *Sa r. Hist.*l.2.

There was a Columne as a Trophy of the extinguishing the Christian faith erected to him with this inscription.

*Diocleſiano Cæſ. Aug.*
*Galerio in Oriente*
Adopt.
*Superſtitione Chriſti ubique deletâ.*
*Et cultu Deorum ubique propagato,*
Gruters *Inſcriptions*, p.280.

*Nomine Chriſtianorum deleto Qui Remp. evertebant.* in another Inſcription mentioned by *Baronius* anno 304.

This moſt bloody perſecutour of the Church, at laſt perſwaded *Maximian* to lay aſide with him all government (not becauſe he was weary of perſecuting, but of diſappointmeut) *ſince he could not hatch his long brooded deſignes for the utter extirpation of the Chriſtians*, being thusout of hope to do all the miſchief he intended, by reſigning the Empire, he putteth himſelf out of power to do any.

*Zonaras. Nicephorus Calliſt. Th. Metochita, &c.* but neither *Triſtan*, nor *Chr. Matthias* hold this to be the ſole cauſe of his reſignation

Being ſollicited 4 years after by *Maximian* to reaſſume his charge, he anſwered; *You would not tempt me to it, did you ſee the herbs ſet with my own hands in my garden at Salona.*

*Diocletian* being invited by *Conſtantine* the Great and *Licinius* to their marriage-feaſt, excuſed himſelf, that by reaſon of his age he could not come; upon which they wrote

wrote back threatning Letter, wherein he was charged to favour *Maximinus*, and to have ſhewed favour to *Maxentius*: whereupon fearing ſome ſhamefull death, he poyſoned himſelf. *S. Aur. Victor.*

*Maximian* ſeemingly taking offence at his ſon *Maxentius*, then at variance with his ſon-in-law *Conſtantine* the Great under colour of this diſlike, repaired to *Conſtantine*, who married *Fauſta* his daughter, with whom he tampered to make away her husband: but ſhe revealed his treachery to *Conſtantine*, who thereupon put him to death.

*Vtinam Maximianus ſuo potius ingenio, quàm alieno exemplo faſtidiuſſet fortunæ faſtigium. Diocletianum ſecutus eſt. Sic verò animi inconſtans; quia cùm ex Auguſto privatus eſſet, è privato tyrannus eſſe voluit. Nam ut ad Imperii majeſtatem eveheret Maxentium filium, acriter afflixit Rem Romanam: ut deinde evectum rejiceret, pater quoque eſſe recuſavit. Iam nec in filio Maxentio, nec in genero Conſtantino purpuram ferens, dum inſidias utrique ſtruit, interficitur.* Puteanus *in Hiſtoria Inſubrica.*

Choyce

# *Choyce Observations*

OF

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS,
And
GALERIUS ARMENTARIUS,
} Colleagues

To whom are joyned

*SEVERVS MAXIMINVS,*
*MAXENTIVS LICINIVS.*

WHen *Diocletian* and *Maximian* laid down the ensignes of command, *Constantius Chlorus* was chosen Emperour in these Western Provinces of *France, Spain*, and *Britain.*

Unto *Galerius* his government fell, *Egypt* and the Provinces in *Asia*: *Constantius* (who chose rather to govern well than much) gave up *Africk* and *Italy* to him, as too remote from the seat of his residence, and eye of his direction.

*Constantius* was by birth a *Roman*; his Father was named *Eutropius*, his Mother *Claudia*, Neece to the Emperour *Claudius Gothicus.*

*Tristan* thinketh that *Constantius* was not called *Chlorus* from his *Palenes*, since *Eumenius* attributeth to him a very *sanguine* complexion;

plexion; but from ſome *green* garments which he wore when he was young: and he mentioneth others who had the ſame ſurname.

He was very affable, reigned to enrich his ſubjects, ſaying; *It was fitter that the wealth of the Land ſhould be diſperſed into the Commons hands, than locked up in Princes coffers:* in which kind he was ſo averſe from all ſuperfluities, that he may rather be adjudged faulty the other way: for he was an enemy to extortions, even to the leſſening of the train of his houſe.

Euſebius *de vita Conſtantini*, l. 1. c 10.

Being but nominated for the Empire, and reproched for his poverty by *Diocletian*, who ſent to exhort him to heap up treaſures; he advertiſed the people of his want, who vehemently contended among themſelves to fill his Exchequer, rejoycing greatly, that now they had that long wiſhed for opportunity to witneſſe their benevolous minds unto the Emperour: whereupon he truly and excellently ſaid; *That the love of the people is the richeſt and ſafeſt Treaſury of the Prince.* Shewing to *Diocletians* Embaſſadors, the great ſummes which he had ammaſſed in few houres, they were amazed thereat; after whoſe departure he returned all the Subſidy that was preſented to him: by which cuſtome he rather got the Epithet of *poor*, than, ſo indeed being by this voluntary poverty, richer than *Diocletian* himſelf, yea than all the other Princes together who were partners with him.

Conſtantius *Pauper. See* Suidas *in* πάνυπο

And

And as this one action shewed his royal magnificence, so this other declareth his piety; in both which he was exemplary. To try the hearts of his Courtiers, he proclaimed, that all they who would not forsake the worship of the true God, should be banished the Court, and should have heavy penalties and fines laid upon them; presently upon this (saith the Story) all who were base and came to serve him onely for ends, went away, forsook the true God, and worshipped Idols: by which means he found out who were the true servants of God, and whom he intended to make his own; thinking as such as he found faithful to God would prove so to him. What this exploratorie stratagem of *Constantius* effected in his Court, the same did that which *Julian* the Apostate set forth in good earnest, against the Christians. He no sooner caused it to be proclaimed, that whosoever would not renounce the Fai h should be discharged his service, and forfeit both life and estate to his high displeasure; but presently upon the publication of that decree, they who were indeed Christians; and they that had onely the title, presented themselves as it were on a common stage to the view of all men.

*Sozomen, l.* 1 The like History? *Theodorus Lector* relteth of *Theodorick* King of the *Gothes* an *Arrian*, in the second book of his Collections.

Socrates, *l.* 3.

*Eusebius* saith that *Constantius* preserved θεοσεβεῖς ἀβλαβεῖς such Christians as were under his command from harm.

Under him the Church in these parts had a breathing-time from persecution. But

*Camden* his *Brit* in description of *York*.

But I am afraid that that learned goes a little to farre, who makes him founder of a Bishoprick at *York*, and stileth him *an Emperour surpassing in all vertue, and Christian piety*. Mr. *Fuller* in his Ecclesiastical History of *Britain*.

*Nullo modo Iacobus Philippus Bergomensis audiendus est, qui Constantium repudiata Theodorâ Helenam, Anglorum regis filiam captivam, uxorem duxisse fabulatur: cùm ex Romanorum annalibus certò constet, Helenam illum coactum repudiasse, ut Theodoram Maximiani Augusti privignam conjugem acciperet. Usserius in Antiquitat. Britann.*

He married *Helena* (daughter of *Coilus*, who entertained him when he was Lieutenant of *Britain*) but *Maximian* tyrannising aswell over loves, as men, declareth *Constantius* Cæsar, on condition he would forsake *Helen*, and marry *Theodora* his daughter-in-law. He is won by ambition, and easines of his nature (which bowed to those who seemed to wish him well) and by the lustre of the purple presented to him.

He marrieth *Theodora*; which alteration *Helena* bore with great constancy, counting it an honour, that to refuse her no other cause was found, but the good fortune of her husband; *Constantius* lived in body with *Theodora*, and in heart with *Helen*: the torrent of ambition and affaires of the world having parted their bodies could not hinder the inclinations of their hearts. For *Constantius* returning to *Britain*, dyed in *York*; and being asked on his death-bed which of his childrē should succeed him, since besides *Constantine* he had two sons by *Theodora viz. Constantius* & *Annibalinus*: he then forgetting his seond wife & her off-spring, cryed aloud *Constantinū piū*, he would have no other successour than the pious *Constantine*, which was approved by the army: who cast the purple Robe

Robe upon *Constantine* at *York*, whileſt he wept, and put ſpurs to his horſe, that he might avoid the importunity of the ſouldiers, who attempted and required ſo inſtantly to make him Emperour: but the happineſs of the ſtate overcame his modeſty.

*Constantius* lived 56 years; was Cæſar 16 years, and Emperour 2 ſaith *Euſebius*. *Cambd* reporteth that at the demolition of Monaſteries, there was found in his ſuppoſed monument in *Yorkshire*, a burning lamp, thought to have burnt there ever ſince his burial, about 300 years after Chriſt, & he addeth out of *Lazius*, that the ancient Romans uſed in that manner to preſerve lights in Sepulchers a long time, by the oylines of gold, reſolved into a liquid ſubſtance.

*Galerius* born of mean parents (ſurnamed *Armentarius* becauſe he kept cattle) bragged that a Serpent begat him, as one did *Alexander* the Great, *Moribus certè odioque in Chriſtianos Draco fuit, nec indignus eo, quo ſe natum parente fatebatur.* Cluverus.

When he rifled the camp of *Narſeus* King of *Perſia*, a common ſouldier having met with a *Parthick* ſatchel, wherein were pearls, through ſimplicity threw out the gems, and went away contented with the beauty onely on the leather bag. *Amm. Marcellinus* l. 22. c. 3. *Vide* Piccarti *Obſervationes Hiſtorico-politicæ*, Dec. 3. c. 3.

He took for eaſe of his burden *Severus* and *Maximinus* ſurnamed *Daza* his ſiſters ſons, whom he elected *Cæſars* and after *Auguſti*;

*sti*; which honours *Severus* enjoyed not long, being slain at *Rome* by treachery of *Maxentius* whē he had reigned but one year.

*Galerius* incensed with the outrage of *Maxentius* intended to fall upon the West; but distrust of the safety of his territories stayed him, and made him create *Licinius Cæsar:* after whose nomination he survived not long.

He boasted the acutenes of his wit by the invention of new tortures for patient Martyrs; notwithstāding when he felt himself invaded with a verminous Ulcer, or Fistula in his secret parts; which did evaporate so contagious and pestilential a stench, that some of his Physicians, not able to endure that *mephitis* or steam of intense corruption, fell down dead; he understanding this to be a judgment sent from God to retaliate upon him those tortures, which he had inflicted on many innocents; then his flinty heart melted within him, and at length he began to think of his wicked practises against the holy worshippers of God, gave commandment for cessation of the Christians persecution, confessed the equity of divine retribution, and in the midst of these confessions of his own guilt, and Gods justice, he breathed out his execrable soul from a gangrenous and loathsome body.

He lived not a year after his edict for the persecuting of the Christians. *Eusebius*, l. 9.

After whose death, *Licinius*, and *Maximinus* be-

beheld each other with a jealous eye, and made shew of contest; but *Maximine* at *Tarsus* decided the difference by an irrevocable resignation.

*Maximinus* was much inclined to wine, in the excesse whereof he commanded many things, of which he afterwards repented, giving a charge to his followers, that they should not execute his desires, except he was sober, or gave them a command in the morning *Sextus Aurelius Victor.*

*Maxentius* made himself Emperour, by consent of the souldiers, to recompence whom he gave leave to sin *cum privilegio*; no words being more frequent than these in his speeches to them; *Fruimini, dissipate, prodigite.*

He being inamoured on a Woman, sent for her by his servants (her Husband not daring to refuse for his life) of whom she desired time to make her self ready; which having obtained, she goeth into her chamber, and killeth her self: the Officers (when they could stay no longer) broke open the room, and finding her dead, report it to *Maxentius*, who became more insolent than before. *Eusebius* l. 8.

By his Necromancy, Adulteries and Murders he grew so intolerable, that the Senate sent to *Constantine*, craving his aid against him.

*Constantine* drawing *Licinius* to his side (by marrying his sister *Constantia* to him) hasted to *Rome* with 90000 foot and 8000 horse, levied out of *Britain*, *France*, and *Germany*.

*Maxentius* framed a deceitful Bridge over *Tiber* near *Pons Milvius*, to intrap *Constantine*: but being overcome in battel, he fled (through forgetfulnes or haſt) over the ſame Bridge, which falling under him, he and many more were drowned.

*Licinius* had nothing good in him, but that he diſliked *Eunuchs*, calling them the Mothes and Rats of the Court.

He was a great enemy to learning, calling it, through his ignorance, a poyſon and publick plague.

He thought that none could live chaſtly, meaſuring others diſpoſitions by his own vicious inclination.

He maligning *Conſtantines* fame, at laſt, perſecuted the Chriſtians in the Eaſt, where he reigned with *Martinianus*, whom he before made *Cæſar* at *Byzantium*, and his ſon *Licinius* at *Arles*.

He was overthrown by *Conſtantine* in ſeveral battels, looſing many thouſands of men, and was himſelf taken priſoner; yet by meditation of his wife, had his life ſpared, and was confined within *Nicomedia*: where for his treaſons after, he and his ſon, who ſomewhat ſurvived him, were put to death.

*Hemelarius*, p. 186.

He lived 70 years, and reigned 15 *Victor. Licinius a Conſtantino morte mulctatur: vel ut alii tradunt, quum filiam ſuam* Herinam *eò quòd Chriſtiana eſſet, ab equis diſcerpi mandaſſet, ipſe adſtans & inſpecturus, equi morſu interfectus eſt.* Elenchus *Numiſmatum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana.*

Select

# Select and Choyce *French* Proverbs, ſome of which were collected out of *Gruterus*, *de la Noue*, and other Authors, divers obſerved by my ſelf when I was in *France*, Alphabetically diſpoſed and engliſhed, and compared alſo ſometimes with the Refranes or *Spaniſh*.

## *A.*

Aller où le Roy va à pied.
*To go where the King goes a foot.* 1. To the Stool.

Aller ſur la Hacquenée des Cordeliers.
*To go upon the Franciſcans Hackney, i. to go a foot.*

Aimer n'eſt pas ſans amer.
*Love is not without bitterneſſe.* Love is γλυκύπικρον a bitter ſweet.

Ainſi va le monde.
*So the world goeth.*

Amaſſer en ſaiſon, deſpencer par raiſon, font la bonne maiſon.
*A ſeaſonable gathering, and a reaſonable ſpending make a good houſe-keeping.*

Amiens fut priuſe en Renard, repriuſe en Lion.
*Amiens was taken by the * Fox, retaken by the Lion.* * Becauſe the Arch-Duke took it by a ſtratagem, and *Henry* the fourth re-

gained it by force.

Amour peut moult, argent peut tout.
*Love can do much, silver can do all.*

Amour, toux, fumée & argent, on ne peut cacher longuement.

The Italian Proverb is: *Love, the Itch, and the Cough cannot be hid.*

*Love, the cough, the smoak and money, can not long be hidden by any.*

A Père, à Maistre, à Dieu tout puissant,
Nul ne peut rendre l'equivalent.
*To Father, Master, and God, Al-sufficient,*
*None can render equivalent.*

A petit Mercier, petit panier.
*A little Pedler, a little pack.*

*Paroum parvis decent.* * We say, *After Beef Mustard.*

Apres * disner de la moustarde.
*After dinner mustard.*

Apres la mort le Medecin.
*After death the Doctor.*

*Post nubila Phœbus.* After a storm comes a calm.

Apres la pluye * vient le beau temps.
*After rain comes fair weather.*

A quoi pensez vous, quand vous ne pensiez rien?

A vous respondre, quand vouy me demandez rien.

*On what think you when you think on nothing?*
*To answer you when you ask me nothing.*

Argent content porte medicine.
*Ready money is a ready medicine.*

A rude Chien faut dur lien.
*A curst Dogge must be tyed short.*

Attente tourmente.
*Expectation torments.*

Au jourdhuy marrié, demain marri.
*Married to day sad to morrow.*

A un bon Entendeur ne faut que demy mot.

*Half*

*Half a word is enough* to an underſtanding Hearer.* *Verbum ſat ſapienti.*

Autant de Païs, autant de couſtumes.
*So many Countries ſo many cuſtomes.*

## *B.*

BEau parler n'eſcorche pas la language.
*Good ſpeech flees not the tongue.* We ſay, *Good words coſt nothing.*

Beauté ſans bonté eſt comme vin eſventé.
*Beauty without goodneſſe is like wine that hath taken wind.* The Spaniards ſay, *It is much worth and coſts little, to give to evil words a good anſwer.*

Belles filles ſe trovent au bourdeau, & les beaux hommes es mains du Bourreau.
*The faireſt woman in the Stowes, and the hanſom'ſt man at the Gallowes.* Refranes d'Oudin.

Bon marché tire l'argent de la bourſe.
*Good cheap commodities are not able pick-purſes.*

Bon ſang ne peut mentir.
*Good blood cannot lye.* A worthy nature cannot conceal it ſelf.

Bonne renommée vaut mieux que ceinture dorée.
*A good renown is better then a golden girdle.* See *Prov.* 22.1.

This Proverb is well explained by *Bodin* de Repub. *l* 5. *c.* 3. and *Paſquier* de Recherches de la *France*, l. 6. c. 11. Some make it all one with that Proverb, *The hood or habit makes not the Monk*, others ſay that onely women of a good name and not whores were ſuffered to wear a golden girdle. The Spanish Proverb is, *He that hath loſt his renown, is dead in the world.* The English is, *He who hath an ill name is half hanged.*

Bonne Terre mauvais Chemin.
Bon Advocat mauvais Voisin.
Bonne Mule mauvaise beste.
Bonne Femme mauvaise teste.
*Good Country and bad Way.*
*Good Lawyer and bad Neighbour.*
*Good Mule and a bad beast.*
*Good Woman and a bad head.*
Borgne est Roy entre les aveugles.
*He that hath one eye is a King among the blinde.*

See l'Etymologie des Proverbes Francois. l. 1. c. 9.

## C.

CE qu'on apprend au bers, dure jusques au vers.
*That which one learnes in youth will continue till old age.*

*Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem Testa diu.*

Cela est la Philosophie de Quenoville.
*It is the Philosophy of the Distaff.*

C'est un mouton * de Berri, il est marqué sur le nez.
*It is a Sheep of Berrie it is marked upon the nose.*

* It is the custome of the Shepherds of that Province in France so to mark their Sheep, therefore if in brabling or otherwise one hath received a blow on the nose and it appears, then men merrily say so.

See l'Etimologie des Proverbe Francois. l. 3. c. 25.

C'est un bon harquebusier, il vise aux talons & frappe le nez.
* *It is a good Harquebusier, it aims at the heels and hits the nose.*

* They speak merrily of a fart.

Chair du Mouton manger de Glouton.
*Flesh of Mutton is meat for a Glutton.*

Chas-

Chaſcun a ſon tour,
Le deviſe du Mounſieur de Guiſe.
*Every one hath his turn,*
*The deviſe of the Duke of Guiſe.*
Chaſcun eſt Roy en ſa maiſon.
*Every one is King in his own houſe.*
Commun n'eſt pas comme un.
*The Publick is not as private.*
Courte meſſe & long diſner.
*Short Maſſe, and long dinner.*

## *D.*

D'Eau benite le moius ſuffis.
*Of holy-water the leſſe ſufficeth.*
De ſol Juge brieve ſentence.
*From a foolish Judge a quick ſentence.*
We ſay, *A fooles bolt is ſoon ſhot.*
De la pance vient la dance.
*Dancing followes a full belly.*
De mauvais payeur il faut prendre paille.
*Of an ill pay-maſter take any thing.*
Desjuner de chaſſeurs, diſner d'Advocats,
Souper de Marchands, & collation de Moines.
*The Huntſmans break faſt, the Lawyers dinner,*
*The Merchants ſupper, and the Monkes drinking.*
De trois choſes Dieu dous garde,
De Beuf ſalé ſans Moutarde,
D'un Valet qui ſe regarde,
D'une Femme qui ſe farde.

*From three things God keep us,*
*From powderd Beef without Muſtard,*
*From a Servant which vieweth himſelf,*
*From a Woman which painteth.*
Du cuir d'autruy large courroye.
*A large thong of anothers leather.*

* *Tollere nodoſam niſcit medicina podagram.* Ovidius.
* The Prince of *Orange* his Countryis fertill of all fruits ſave Oranges, whence came this Proverb, ſaith *Iodocus Sincerus* in his *Itinerarium Galliæ.*
* Like to this is the Spanish Proverb, *Al gran arroyo, paſſar poſtrero.* At a great River one should paſſe laſt.

## *E.*

EN gouttes Medicin ne voit Goutte.
*The Phyſician ſees but littie in the Gout.*
En Orenge il n' ya point d'Oranges.
*In Orange * there are no Oranges.*
En Pont, en Planche, & en Riviere,
Valet devant Maiſtre derriere.
*On Bridge, on Plank, and on River,*
*The Servant before, and Maſter after.* *
Entre deux ſelles le cul à terre.
*Between two ſtooles the tail to the ground.*
Entre la bouche & le verre,
Le vin ſouvent tombe à terre.
*Between the lip and the cup*
*The wine is often ſpilt.*
Eſchorhcer le *Renard.
*To flea the Fox.*

*Multa cadunt inter calicem ſupremaque labra.* * To ſpue, caſt, vomit, (eſpecially upon exceſſive drinking) either becauſe then one makes a noiſe like a Fox which barkes, or becauſe the flaying of ſo unſavory a beaſt will make any man vomit. See *l'Etymologie des Proverbes Francois.* l. 2. c. 33.

Eſtre ſur la bord de la foſſe.
*To be upon the brink of the pit.*
Alterum pedem in cymba charonti habere.

*F.*

FAire de Chaſteaux en *Eſpagne.*
*To build Caſtles in* Spain.
We ſay, *to build Caſtles in the air.*
Faire de ſon Medecin ſon heritier.
*To make his Phiſician his heir.*
Faire grond cas de peu de choſe.
*To make great account of a little thing.*
Femme, argent & vin
on leur bien & leur venin.
*Women, money, and wine,*
*have their good and their evil.*
Femme rit quand elle peut & pleure quand elle veut.
*A Woman laughes when she can, and weeps when she will.*
Fille feneſtriere & trotiere,
Rarement bonne meſnagere.
*A gazing and gadding maid ſeldome proves good Houſe-wife.*
*Beneficium accepiſti, libertatem vendidiſti, Terence.*
Fille qui donne s'abandonne.
*A Maid which giveth is eaſily gotten.*
Fille qui prend ſon Corps vend.
*A Maid which takes ſels her body.*
Fille trope veuë, robbe trop veſtuë, n'eſt paſt chere tenue.
*A maid often ſeen, a garment often worn,*
*Are diſeſteem'd, and held in ſcorn.*
The Italian Proverb is: *A woman that taketh is eaſily yielding.*
Formage, poir, & pain,
Eſt repas de vilain.

*Cheeſe*

*Cheese, bread, and pear,*
*Is the Husbandmans fare.*

Les plus courtes folies ſont les meſ-
lieures.

* Prov. 17. 28. *Si ſapiens ſtultus, ſi ſtultus ſapiens. Pitiſſando dolium exhauritur.* Terence.

*The ſhorteſt follies are the beſt.*

Fols ſont ſages quond ils ſe taiſent.

*Fools are wiſe men when they hold their* * *peace.*

## *G.*

GOutte à goutte la Mer s'eſgoute.
*By drop and drop the Sea runs out.*

Homme chiche, jamais riche.
*A covetous man is never rich.*

*Semper avarus eget.*

Homme roux & femme barbue,
De trente pas loin le ſalüe,
Avecques trois pierres au poing,
Pour t'en aider à ton beſoing.

*Salute no red hair'd man, nor bearded woman nearer then thirty foot off, with three ſtones in thy fiſt to defend thee in thy need.*

## *I.*

JEuneſſe oiſeuſe, vie illeſſe diſetteuſe.
*An idle youth makes a needy old age.*

The Italian Proverb is, *A young man idle, an old man needy.*

Il a touſiours une * aulne de boyaux vuides, pour feſtoyer ſes amis.

* This is ſpoken of one that hath a great appetite, the ſecond ſmall gut is named, *Ileum*, becauſe it is alwaies void, whence ſpringeth this Proverb.

*He hath alwayes an ell * of empty guts to feaſt his friends withal.*

Il

Il eſt bien avancé qui a bien commencé.
*He is well advanced who hath begun well.*
Dimidium facti qui bene cæpit, habet.
Il a beau mentir qui vient de loin.
*A Traveller may lye by authority.*
Il gaſte comme le fange de Paris.
*It ſtaineth like the dirt of Paris, Lutetia à luto.*
Il a la conſcience large, comme la manche d'un Cordelier.
*He hath a conſcience as large as a Franciſcans ſleeve.*
Il joüe de moy à la pelotte.
*He playes at foot-bal with me.*
*Me quaſi pilam habet Plautus.*
Il ment comme un Aracheur de dents.
*He lyeth like a Tooth-drawer.*
Il n'eſt eſchappé qui traine ſon lien.
*He is not quite got away who drags his chain after him.*
Il n'eſt jamais feu ſans fumé.
*There is never fire without ſome ſmoak.*
Il n'y a pire ſourd que celuy qui ne veut oüir.
*There is none ſo deaf as that will not hear.*
Il ny a tant des Moutons en Berry
*There be not ſo many Sheep in* * *Berry.*
Il ni a que la premiere pinte chere.
*The firſt pint is the deareſt.*
Il vaut mieux tard que jamais.
*It is better late then never.*
Jeu, putain, & vin friand
Font l'homme panure en riand.
*Play a whore, and briſk wine make a man poor laughing.*

* There is ſuch ſtore of Sheep in that Province, that they have this by word when they would taxe a fellow for his notable lying, and telling a greater number then the truth.

The

The Italian Proverb (whence this seems to be borrowed) is, *Play, woman, and wine consume a man laughing.*

## L.

LA belle plume fait le bel oyseau.
*The fair feathers make a fair fowl.* *

* See *l'Etymologie des Proverbes Francois.* l.1.c.4.

L'appetit vient en mangeant, est la soif s'en va en beuvant.
*The stomack comes by eating, the thirst is quencht by drinking.*

L'asne du common est tousjours mal-basté
*The common Asse is alwayes ill sadled.*

La soye esteint la feu de la Cuisine.
*Silk* * *doth quench the fire of this Kitchin.*

* sumptuousnesse of apparel destroyes Hospitality and good Housekeeping.

La trop longue demeurer fait changer l'amy.
*Too long abiding causeth a friend to change.*

L'eau qui dort est pire qui celle quid court.
*The standing water is worse then that which runnes.*

Le cousт en fait perdre le gousт.
*The cost takes away the desire to the thing.*

Le desir nous tormente & l'espoir nous contente.
*Desire torments us, and hope comforts us.*

L'habit ne fait pas le Moyne.
*The habit makes not the Monk.*

Cucullus, non facit monachum.

Le maison est malheureuse & mechante, On le Poul plus haute que le coq chante.
*The house is unhappy and wicked where the hen croweth louder than the cock.*

Le

Le mari veut (& doit) eſtre maiſtre, la femme veut (& doit) eſtre maiſtreſſe, mais non pas de ſon mari.

*The husband will and ought to be maſter, the wife will and ought to be miſtris, but not of her husband.*

Les mots termines en ique font au Medecin la nique.

*The words ending in * ique do mock the Phiſician.*

* Such be *Hectique, Paralitique, Apoplectique, Lathargique*, becauſe they are hardly or never cured.

Le plaiſir engendre l'autre.

*One good turn requires another.*

Le Royaume du France ne tombe point en quenouille.

*The Kingdome of France falls not to the diſtaffe.*

*Lex ſalica Gallorum imperii ſucceſſor maſculus eſto.*

Les Apprentifs ne ſont pas incontinent maiſtres.

*The Prentiſes are not preſently maſters.*

Les bons rẽdeurs font les bons preſteurs.

*Good reſtorers make good lenders.*

Le Soleil qui ſe leve matin,
La Femme qui parle latin,
L'enfant qui boit du vin,
Font rarement bonne fin.

*The Sun which shineth early in the morning,*
*A Woman which ſpeaketh Latin,*
*A Child that drinketh wine,*
*Seldome make a good end.*

Le teſte d'une Femme,
La corps d'un Serjeant,
Les jambes d'un Lacquai,
C'eſt un Diable parfaict.

*The head of a Woman,*
*The body of a Serjeant,*
*The leggs of a Lackey*
*Make a Devil perfect.*

Le vin se cognoist à la saveur, & le drap à la coleur.

*Wine is known by its smell, and cloth by its colour.*

Lire beaucoup & rien n'entendre,
C'est beaucoup chasser & rien prendre.
*To read much and understand nothing,*
*Is to hunt much and catch nothing,*

## *M.*

MA chemise chascun blanche
Baise mon cû châque dimanche.
*My fair shirt kisse me behinde once a week.*

Manger * son pain blanc le premier.
*To eat his white bread first.*

* It is spoken of those who in their youth have all prosperity, but in the end sorrow and care.

Mars venteux, & Auril pluvieux font le May gay & gracieux.

*A windy March, and rainy April make a May trim and gay.*

## *N.*

N'irrit ez point les chiens, au paravant que vos soies aux pierres.

*Provoke not the Dogs before you beat the stones.*

* A Charm which they use to hinder a man from accompanying with his wife.

Nouer l'esguillette.
*To tye the * point.*

Nour-

Nourriture paſſe nature.
*Nature ſurpaſſeth nature.*
Nul bien ſans peine.
*No good without pain and labour.*
*This Proverb is meant principally of vertue, it comes not without labour.*

## O,

OI, voy, & te tais, ſi tu veux veure en pais.
*Hear, ſee, and be ſilent, if thou wilt live in peace.*
Audi, vide, tace, ſi vis vivere in pace.
Oignez vilain, il vous poindra, poignez vilain il vous oindra.
*Sooth a Clown and he will deal roughly with you, deal roughly with him, and he will ſpeak you fair.*
The Italian Proverb is, *Do good to a Clown, he wisheth thee evil for it, do him an evil turn and he wisheth thee good for it.*
On ne doit parler Latin devant les Clercs.
*One muſt take heed to ſpeaking of Latin before Schollars.*
On ne prend pas le lieure au ſon de Tambour.
*Men catch not a Hare with the ſound of a Drum.*
On ne ſcait, que la choſe vaut, juſqu'à tant qu'on l'ait perdue.
*One knows not what a thing is worth till he have loſt it.*

The Spaniſh Proverb is, *Buen perdido ay conocido. A good thing loſt is known.*

Bonum magis carendo quàm fruendo cognoſcimus.

Oûi dire va par ville.

*Hear-ſay goes throughout the town.*

## P.

PApe par voix, Roy par nature, Empereur per force.

*The Pope comes by voices, the King by nature, the Emperour by force.*

Par don, on a pardon.

*By a gift on obtains a pardon.*

Par l'eſchantillon on cognoiſt la piece.

*By a pattern on knoweth the whole piece.*

Petite pluye abbat grand vent.

*A ſmall rain allaies a great wind.*

Poiſſon ſans vin eſt poiſon.

*Fiſh without wine is poiſon.*

Pour un plaiſir mille douleurs.

*For one pleaſure a thouſand ſorrowes.*

## Q.

QUand Italie ſera ſans poiſon, France ſans trahiſon, Angleterre ſans guerre, lors ſera le monde ſans terre.

*When Italy ſhall be without poiſon, France without treaſon, England without war, the World ſhall be without earth.*

Quand le danger eſt paſſé, le Sainct eſt oublié.

*When*

*When the danger is paſt the Saint is forgotten.*

Quand le ſoleil eſt couché tons les beſtes ſont à l'ombre.

*When the Sun is ſet all the beaſts are in the ſhade.*

Quatres bonnes meres engendrent quatre mauvaiſes filles, Grande familiarité meſpris, verité haine, vertu envie, richeſſe ignorance.

*Four good mothers beget four bad daughters, great familiarity contempt, truth hatred, vertue envie, riches ignorance.*

Qui a bon voiſin, il a bon matin.

*He that hath a good neighbour hath a good morrow.* *Eſt aliquod bonum propter vicinum bonum*

Qui a le bruit de se lever matin peut dormir juſques à diſner.

*He that hath the fame of riſing early may ſleep till dinner.*

Qui a terre il a guerre.

*He that hath land hath alſo ſtrife.*

Qui monte plus haut qu'il ne doit, deſcend plus bas qu'il ne voudroit.

*He that mounteth higher then he ought, ſhall deſcend lower then he would.*

Qui naiſt de geline il ayme a gratter.

*He that comes from a Hen loves to be ſcratting.* *Matrem proles ſequitur*

Qui parle du loup, il en void la queue.

*He that ſpeaks of the *Wolf, ſees his tail.* See *l' Etymologie des Proverbes Francois, l. 2. c. 15.*

*While the Shepherds talk of the Wolf he comes ſometimes, ſo doth he often of whom we ſpeak.* * Like to which is both the Latine Proverb, *Lupus in fabula*, See *Eraſm. Adag.* and the Arabick, *Quando mentionem fecerit lupi, præpara illi baculum.*

Qui regimbe contre l'aiguillon, merite d'en estre picqué deux fois.

*He that kicks against the pricks, deserves to be pricked twice.*

Qui veut jeune chair & vieux poisson, se trove repugner la raison.

*He that loves young flesh and old fish, loves contrary to reason.*

Qui veult manger de noiau', qu'il casse la noix.

*Qui vult nucleum, nucem frangat oportet.*

*He that will eat the kirnel, let him break the nut.*

## R.

REmede contre la Peste par art,
Fuir tost & loing, retourner tard.

*Cito longè tarde. Par pari referre.*

*An Artificial remedy against the Plague, to flie swift and farre, and return slowly.*

Rendre la pareille.

*To render the like.*

Retournons a nous moutons.

*Let us return to our Sheep.*

This Proverb is used when in some long discourse, one having made some digression from the matter, will return to the thing he first spake of.

The original of it is taken from Shepherds which sometimes leave their Sheep to solace themselves while they feed, but fearing danger to them, after say, Let us returne to our Sheep.

Rouge soir & blanc matin,
C'est le plaisir du Pelerin,

The

*The evening red and the morning gray,*
*Are hopeful signes of a fair day.*
The Italian saith, *The evening red, and the morning duskie ioyeth the Traveller.*

See of the French Proverb, *Etymologie des Proverbes Francois, l. 1. c. 6.*

*S.*

SI l'eſpine non picque quand nai,
A peine que picque jamai.
*A thorn unleſſe at firſt it prick,*
*Will hardly ever pierce to the quick.*
Souvent & peu manger,
Ce faict l'homme engraiſſer.
*Often and little eating makes a man fat.*

*T.*

TEL refuſe qui apres muſe.
*He refuſeth who after bethinks himſelf.*
Tout ſe qui reluiſt n'eſt pas or,
*All is not gold that gliſtereth.*
Toſt ou tard, prezau loing,
Le fort du foible à beſoign.
*Soon or late, near or far, the ſtrong hath need of the weak.*
Trois choſes ſont d'un accord,
L'Egliſe, la Court, & la Mort,
L'Egliſe prend de vif & mort,
La Court prend le droict & le tort,
La Mort prend le foible & le fort.
*Three things agree in the world; The Church the Court and Death, the Court right and wrong, Death the weak and ſtrong.*
The Italians have the like Proverb,

*Three*

*Three things are much of nature:*
*A Priest, an Atturney, and Death;*
*The Priest taketh from the living and the dead;*
*The Atturny right and wrong,*
*And death taketh along with it both weak and strong.*

Trop grater cuist, trop paller nuist.

*To much scratching smarts, too much speaking hurts.*

*Rem acute tigisti.*

Tu as frappé au blanc.

*Thou hast hit the white.*

The Cony by reason of his fear is very forgetful, whence came this Proverb.

Tu as memoire du Lieure ou Lapin, tu la pers en courant.

*Thou hast as much memory as a Hare or Coney, thou hast lost it in running.*

*V.*

UN coup de langue nuist plus qu'un coup de lance.

*A word hurts more then a wound.*

Un grand Seigneur,
Un grand Clochier,
Une grande Riviére
sont trois mauvais Voisins.

*A great Lord,*
*A great Bell,*
*A great River*
*are three ill Neighbours.*

Une bonne femme est une mauvaise beste.

*A good wife is an ill beast.*

*Oftentimes in the contracted inscriptions of ancient Tombes these 2 capital letters, M. B. have been found which signify* Mulier Bona *in* French

*French* Bonne Femme. *Some Drollers finding that theſe 2 letters* M. B. *ſignifie as well* Mala beſtia *as* Mulier bona; *thrice uſed this Proverb.*

Un homme de paille vaut une femme d'or.

*A man of ſtraw is worth a woman of gold.*

Un Miniſtre ne doit ſcavoir que ſa Bible. That is, to teach or profeſſe no more. 1 *Cor.* 2.

*A Miniſter ought to know no more then his Bible.*

Vouz mangez voſtre chemie, par ou retournerez vous. Mocking thoſe that eat by the way.

*You eat your way, which way will you return.*

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FINIS.

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